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Does gentrification, led by the creative class, follow a pattern? Comparing the development of Manhattan and Brooklyn with Hackney: what is the future for Hackney?

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Being a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc in Town and Country Planning at University College London:

I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work



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Abstract

The dissertation examines the processes through which creative artists (referred to here collectively as the "creative class") play a pioneering or key role in urban gentrification. It reviews some of the UK (especially London) literature and some of the literature from the USA (especially New York) and also makes strong use of case study material from both cities. These case studies are based on close personal observation, interviews with some of those involved and reading of research and journalistic sources. Essentially, the key purpose of this dissertation is to give the reader a better understanding that the activities and movement performed by the creative class are linked to the built environment.

Introduction

Many factors contribute to gentrification, however in this dissertation I intend to concentrate on its interaction with the creative class. There has however been a re-definition of the creative class in the dissertation. A section is dedicated in explaining this re-definition.

The literature review is used to demonstrate existing research on gentrification and the creative class. This understanding from secondary literature will help form a hypothesis, with the aim of deducing the role of the creative class in gentrification.

Following from the section re-defining the creative class, a section on the methodology for the primary studies will follow. This section will set out the research techniques used to investigate the hypothesis and to build on existing literature. The primary study uses two case studies: London and New York.

The London case study will reveal its current situation and its current stage in gentrification. At the same time a study on New York will allow a comparison with London, and demonstrate if the 'art-led' gentrification is a transferable concept. A critique of the methods used and suggestions of improvements will follow, before evaluating the hypothesis. Finally a conclusion will summarise the observations and suggest if 'art-led' gentrification in London will follow New York's example.

Literature review

The aim of this literature review is to discover the reasoning behind gentrification and analyse how the creative class is involved in this process.

During the manufacturing boom, industries began to decentralise. The middle class followed the manufacturing sector, seeking better housing or employment. Yet the unemployed and lower classes were left behind and the city centre continued to be disinvested. Recent events, such as deindustrialisation, led to the re-birth of urban living and the desire of some people to move back to the city centre, making gentrification the most common urban phenomenon in tackling the malaise of the urban social and physical fabric.

In much of the UK literature gentrification is described primarily as a market process of change, not essentially led or promoted by plans or public policies. It is clear, however, that planners are one of the main players during the process of gentrification: they enable, through development plans and wider urban policies, physical and social change in an area.

Beauregard believes that a '[c]luster in certain areas of the city causing a "heating up" of the housing market (and thus rising rents, condominium conversions and the like)' (Beauregard, 1986, p 45) is the start of gentrification and that Marcuse (1986) understand this phenomenon leads to 'forced displacement'. This is when increased demand allows landlords to increase rent, forcing people out and replacing poorer with more affluent tenants.

Incidentally, America has an added phenomenon before gentrification. Marcuse (1986) suggests that there is a tendency for developers to speculate and buy land, attempting to catalyse abandonment: "The danger of fire may be increased from empty buildings next door, the level of street crime, drug traffic, and vandalism may increase to an intolerable level, community facilities and support

networks may be eroded, public services neglected, beyond the point where a decent life can be maintained" (Marcuse, 1986, p 158).

It is believed that the main aim of gentrification for developers is to give the impression of change, in order to achieve economic gain. The indirect result is a change in community profile. This impression of change is via physical perception, but this is not as easy to achieve. Much literature suggests that class is the single most important aspect of gentrification, as a change in the class structure will be associated with a change in aesthetics of the built environment. As Jager, 1986, puts it, "gentrification may also involve new class formation as well as a concept in formation...[the built environment is used as] both a container and expression of social relations" (Jager, 1986, pp78-79).

In short, each class has its own form of aesthetic expression and perception of comfort, when one class displaces another, so does the aesthetics of the built environment and that more aspects of the previous way of life are lost and the cultural history of the neighbourhood are slowly eroded.

LeGates & Hartman (1986) wrote an essay profiling, what they call, the 'inmovers' and 'outmovers' during successful gentrification programmes in North America. They accepted that available data can be used to create profiles of outmovers but they were wary of stereotypes defined as 'the first outmovers', because population on a specific area is in a constant cycle. In addition, there is little literature discussing the creative class' involvement in the built environment. Yet Veblen (1953) has mentioned the 'leisure class', explaining them as the bourgeoisie of the middle class carrying out 'wasteful practices' and that creativity is displayed in aid for the lack of sensibility. Landry (2004) has up-dated and re-named this class as the 'creative class'. They are adaptable to any types of the built environment, including derelict sites, nevertheless still display visible signs of their existence in the area.

Figure 1 is a summary from LeGates & Hartman (1986) of in-movers into the gentrified area of St. Paul in Minnesota. Essentially a 'successful' gentrified area targeted profile is single professionals who are willing to invest on new properties close to the heart of the city.

Inmovers

- People, especially families, will not move to areas with poor local amenities. The first in-movers to these gentrified areas tend to be young adults (note they are increasing in number, more gentrified areas are possible);
- "Of the in-movers to St. Paul's Ramsey Hill neighbourhood, 45 percent were in the 30 to 39 age range, and 23 percent were in the 19 to 29 age group";
- 97% of in-movers to St. Paul are primarily white: this statistic is generally found in North America;
- There are very few lower-income in-movers;
- Family structure: 37% of St. Paul in-movers are single;
- The workforce in St. Paul: 75% in-movers are in professional or managerial work.

Figure 1 providing a summary of 'in-mover' profile in St. Paul; LeGates & Hartman (1986)

Studies have shown that during the period of re-urbanisation 'the people most likely to be gentrified (i.e. displaced) are those living in inexpensive but architecturally desirable housing near central business districts' (Beauregard, 1986, p 49). Furthermore, they are neighbourhoods close to existing wealthy areas inside the city centre. So it is right to assume that those with 'less acceptable' life style will tend to be under pressure to move out, and relocate to a relatively undesirable site.

According to LeGates & Hartman (1986) those who are moved out of their St Paul neighbourhood, due to gentrification, resettle close to, sometimes within, the neighbourhoods from which they moved. These neighbourhoods are usually more expensive, according to LeGates & Hartman (1986): 87% of displacees move to an area 6% higher rent than where they moved from).

Studies (by authors such as Abu-Lughod J. [ed.] (1994); Jager, M., (1986); and Mele C. (2000)) have shown that gentrification mainly concentrates on the improvement of dwellings, creating a sort of 'ideal type' gentrified neighbourhood. 'Neutralising' the history of the areas will give the perception that the area is brand new.

In the UK, it has been recognised by the director of learning and development at CAFE, Chris Murray, that in recent times artists – who belongs in the creative class - have an essential role in neighbourhood renewal. Acknowledging that they define and create a sense of value, pride and distinctiveness in the community. Furthermore, Hart (2003) believe that 'eccentric' people will attract economically creative people, creating a successful economy without big commercial areas. Jager (1986) adds that the introduction of the creative class should be seen as economically beneficial to the neighbourhood as their way of life is and its associated aesthetics has become a commodity.

This social and cultural exchange, using creative activities, are unconventional demonstrations to the government, showing that any form of planning cannot produce a slow, and often difficult, process of observation, emergence, restoration and interaction. They are suggesting that this informal practice is a more suitable solution.

A city is self-organising, contains an internal logic and is naturally adaptable and flexible, making the city self-sustaining if given time. In theory, individuals in a city system can go through system structural change, only if the identity remains.

The British government is beginning to recognise that there is no one model for regeneration and that communities are unique. Creativity is increasingly seen as a process of regeneration, but is never planned to be in the final outcome of the process. However, safeguarding creative communities has recently been easier. Estelle Morris (in Hadley, 2003) had understood that the 'creative economy' is becoming more important. Furthermore, there is emphasis on creating sustainable communities in the British planning system, which aims to increase community involvement in planning. Stating that fiscal accountability is seen as the most significant restriction in sustaining a creative population. Britain has seen more funding available to support artists, such as The National Lottery, Arts Council England, Celebrating the Millennium, The Millennium Commission, and European Regional Development Fund. However, funding is slowly declining.

In summary literature concerning the creative class involvement with gentrification is somewhat limited. Veblen (1953) is the earliest literature concerning activities of the creative class, but had not been further developed until Zukin in the 1980. It is only in recent time the British government is beginning to realise the potential of the creative class and its effect on the built environment. It seems that American planning has a different approach as they have other priorities, namely dealing with abandonment. It appears that the government driven approach to British development and market-led American planning system will affect the creative class differently. Further studies on London and New York will add to this study.

Definition of the creative class

The creative class has often been described as those working in knowledge-based industries; this dissertation however will re-define the class as those with their primary occupation in 'the arts'. Table 1 demonstrates that it is possible to split the creative class into different sectors.

The creative class			
Fine Art <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Painters▪ Sculptures▪ Pottery	Audio arts <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Musicians▪ Recording studios▪ Practising studios	Visual/Fashion/sales <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Garment industries▪ "Fashion boutique sales"▪ Galleries	Office-based <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Architects▪ Software engineers▪ Graphic designers▪ etc

Table 1 demonstrating some activities involved in different sectors of the creative classes

It is also important to note that there should be a distinction between the poor and prosperous creative classes. Meaning the new, non-established members of the creative class will behave differently to the rich, well-known members of the creative class. The value of the product, their level of exposure, the amount of personal wealth, and their second income could identify the difference within the creative classes.

Hypothesis

The bullet points below are a list of seven issues, hypothesising events the creative class follows during gentrification:

- The creative class is the first gentry during gentrification;
- The movement of gentries follow the same sequence. I.e. poor to creative to middle-class to rich;
- Developers are the most important actors in gentrification;
- The government's role in gentrification is equally important as developers;
- The creative class is an unstable collective. I.e. find it hard to settle in one area for a long time;
- The displacement of the creative class is caused by them being priced out;
- Finally, the creative class are pushed away from the city centre.

We will revisit the list of issues, after further investigations and attempt to answer the extent to which these statements are correct.

Methodology

London and New York are the two case studies used in this dissertation. The London case study will focus on one of the creative quarters of Hackney, to be more precise the Queensbridge ward. The New York case study will focus on two areas: Lower East Side and parts of Brooklyn.

Quantitative data of Hackney will be provided using three decades worth of Hackney census data, government statistics, and statistics indicating the efficiency of its local council.

The amount of primary data collected in New York was restricted because of time; the fieldwork in New York was undertaken between 19th and 26th of January 2005. However, secondary information had been gathered by data from the internet.

More detailed insight on the creative class involvement with gentrification in New York and London had been in the form of one-hour formal interviews. – Five in London and four in New York. The London interviews were conducted throughout December 2004 (one being an e-mail interview), while New York interviews were held at the same time as the collection of secondary data. The interviewees were chosen because they had either been involved with the gentrification of their cities or had researched on the subject.

Informal interviews, in both London and New York, were conducted in-between formal interviews. These interviews were conducted with workers, or owners, of business within the area of interest, and are classified as either Class A3, A4, and A5 in The Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) (Amendment) (England) Order 2005. This sampling method was made after reading Zukin's literature, in *The Cultures Of Cities*, about the creative classes' need for a second income.

Photographs were taken to visually demonstrate my observation of the building stock used by the creative class in both London and New York.

Both qualitative and quantitative method of research was employed because qualitative research would provide insight to individual behaviour and the general creative class relationship with gentrification, while quantitative research would provide information on trends in the study areas. Subsequently, the final section offers an insight to Hackney's creative class and the future trends in Hackney's creative quarters.

London case study

Hackney is situated in East London. Figure 2 illustrates Hackney's inaccessibility by public transport, despite being found directly north to the City of London. Old Street and Shoreditch, to the southwest, are the only parts of Hackney connected by London Underground; the rest of Hackney is connected by bus or national rail. In spite of its location, Hackney is thus not well connected to the rest of London; the southwest corner is the exception.

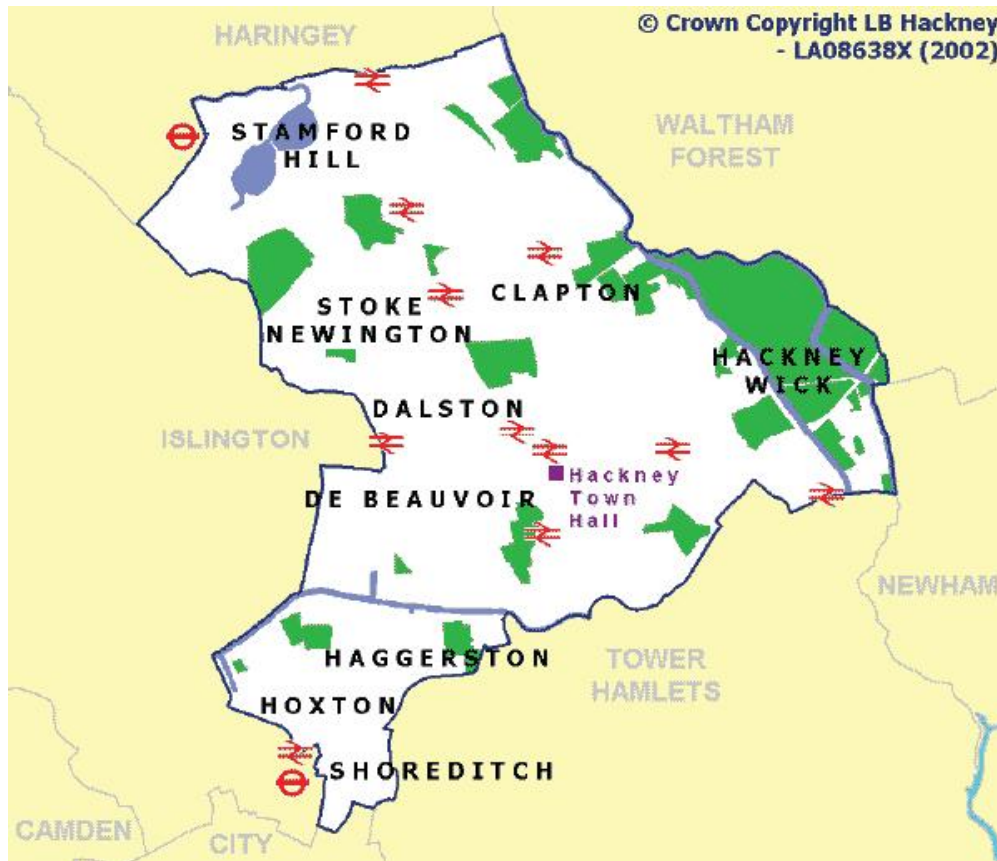


Figure 2 showing transport and location of Hackney – source London Borough of Hackney
http://www.map.hackney.gov.uk/Mapgallery/Statistics%20Web/about_hack.htm obtained on 26th
 February 2005

Hackney was a middle-class village, until it was swallowed-up by London and became an industrial district. Because of its past, Hackney mainly consist of

large residential houses and mansions, or industrial buildings, shown in figure 3 and figure 4. Deindustrialisation in the mid-late 20th century had left Hackney with huge amounts of vacant buildings of low land value. The levels of redundant buildings rose by the 1970s, when Hackney council bought land through compulsory purchase with the intention to provide public buildings, such as schools but lack of funds meant they could not be implemented.



Figure 3 showing large housing stock on Richmond Road



Figure 4 showing large industrial buildings on Richmond Road

According to data from Howes (1983), the majority of Hackney's population in 1981 had poor living standards. 58% of inhabitants in Hackney lived in council owned property, the highest percentage being 77% in the Queensbridge ward, while only 6% of its population had university degrees. Hackney had a high concentration of immigrants as well as poor white people who could not afford to move away. Providing Hackney with reputation for slums, squats, poverty, perception of danger. Hackney was not a desirable area to live.

Hackney's main creative hub had been to the southwest in and around Shoreditch; its location, good functional building stock and cheap rent was the primarily reason the creative class was drawn into the area. But also the surrounding environment, i.e. the liveliness and animation of the area created by high level of immigration.

A majority of the creative class privately rent their dwelling and workspace, but fine artists saw the opportunity to use some former industrial buildings as artist

studios. The building stock was the right size for setting up a studio. Short-term letting agreements were made on condition the artists refurbish the buildings using their own funds. These agreements were generally made by charities acting as intermediaries.

According to ACME, there are just over 100 buildings controlled by these charities, mainly to east and southeast of London, but non-profit studio providers own only 5 of these buildings. Lack of funds meant buildings are not leasehold. These charities are non-profit; their main source of funding is by acting as landlords for these below-market rented studios. Other funds are obtained through lottery grants, charity funding, and Objective II –money given by the EU for economic development.

The actions of these charities, in aiding the artist's development, could be illustrated by looking at the example of Robin Klassnik's Matt's Gallery. It was illegally set up in an ACME studio, in London Fields, shown in figure 5, during 1979. I.e. it was a studio but had been used for commercial purposes. This was possible because of Hackney's notorious inefficiencies (this in the analysis of figure 6). The inconsistency in performance does not provide local residents with confidence and promotes a do-it-yourself ethos. It could be said that this lack-of-regulation appearance is attractive to the creative class. It would not be possible for Matt's Gallery to form if planning in Hackney was strictly regulated.

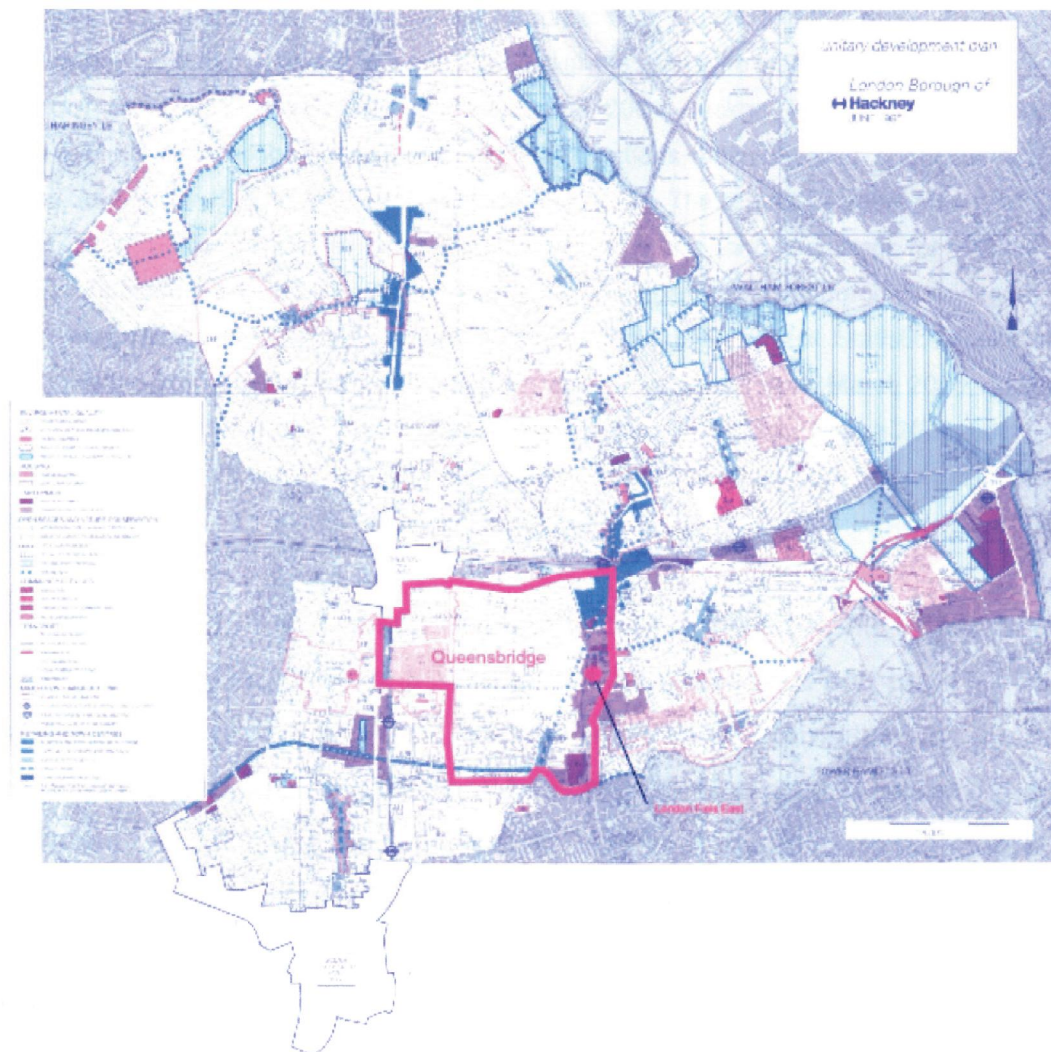


Figure 5 showing London Fields East situated northeast of Hoxton and Shoreditch, and designated as an industrial zone – source: London Borough of Hackney (1995)

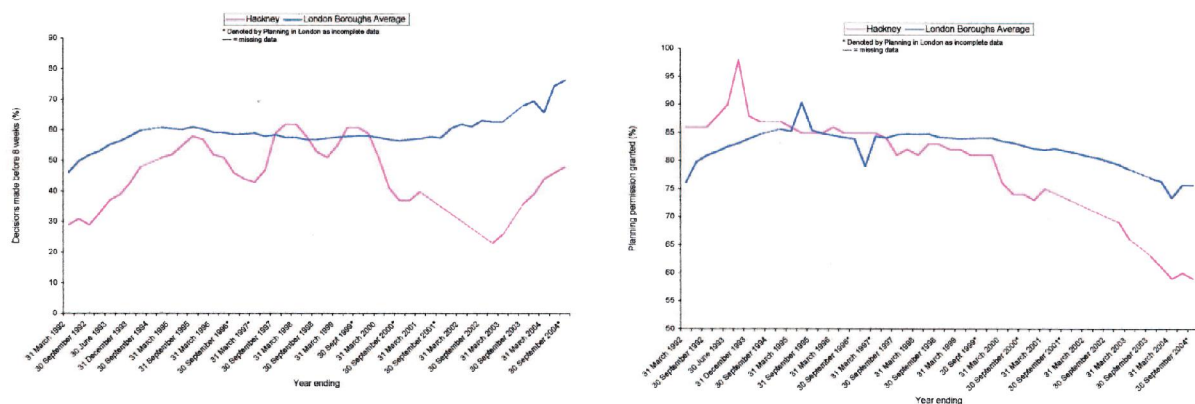


Figure 6 showing the percentage of decisions for planning applications made before 8 weeks by Hackney (left) and percentage of planning permission granted by Hackney (right), both graph are

permission granted by Hackney (right), both graph are compared with the London Borough average - Source: DoE, DETR, and DTLR, results extracted from Planning in London (Issue 2 to Issue 52). The graphs illustrate Hackney council's history of inefficiency. Between 31 March 1992 to 30 September 2004, Hackney had often been below the London average for making decision for planning applications within 8 weeks, anomalies are between September 1997 to 1998 and March 1999 to 2000. The results between March 1992 and December 1993 continued to exemplify Hackney below the London average for making decision for planning applications within 8 weeks. Its effect being that the borough having an above average of planning permission granted, presumable under appeal. Statistics after March 1997 shows are very different trend. Planning permission was erratic until March 2000, mainly due to a change in government from a Labour to hung council. But since March 2000, both decisions made within 8 weeks planning permissions granted has been way below the London average.

Towards the late 1980s, Klassnik became known in the art world, generating a second income by lecturing, and established the space as a non-profit workspace and a gallery. By 1992, Matt's Gallery received more funding from the London Arts Board, enabling Klassnik to stop producing art and becoming an established curator. Subsequently, Matt's Gallery relocated to Bow. Figure 7 shows that Bow is located further from Central London then London Fields, but is more accessible by the public due to better connection from the London Underground.



Figure 8 showing London Fields Industrial Area Ellingfort Road, note the attempted removal of 'industrial'

An alternative scheme was proposed by the LFUG. Consisting of two phases, first, to build on the land that had already been demolished, and secondly, to build live/work co-operatives space on the land then being squatted. Hackney council did not attempt to address the squatting issue for 12 years which meant that two of the squatters managed to establish pcessory rights, figure 9 shows examples of buildings legally squatted.



Figure 9 showing legally squatted buildings in London Field East

The three aims of the alternative scheme were firstly, to evict or otherwise deal with the squatters, secondly, to use the Objective II money before the deadline, and lastly, to retain the creative class, believing that they were an important resource to reintroduce people living and working in the area, revitalising the neighbourhood, further increasing social integration and interaction.

The idea of promoting a 'culture renaissance' was possible because of its close proximity to the large amounts of ACME and SPACE studios. But in truth only a small fraction of the neighbourhood was involved in the true creative class. The quote below illustrates their definition of the creative class being a very diverse group of people.

"London Fields East has long been home to enterprise and individuals as diverse as ceramicists and photographers, car mechanics and musicians, foundries and academics, sculptors and animators, painters and hat makers" (The London Fields Renewal Partnership, *The Art Of Hackney – The London Fields Renewal Partnership – Developing The Arts Quarter In London Fields East*, The London Fields Renewal Partnership, p 6).

Essentially, the association of the creative class was used as a tool to promote the LFUG alternative scheme.

The alternative bid was implemented. Ironically without heavy involvement by those in the cultural industry: the alternative plan had managed to form a co-operative consisting of former squatters and some members of the creative class. The main actors in the cultural industry, for example SPACE Studios, did not want to be involved with the alternative plan. Members of this industry believed that the redevelopment proposal would provide inadequate space for their consumers' activities. I.e. Fine artists have little space to produce and store their work.

A well managed co-operatives must be maintained if the creative class want to stay in London Fields East, unfortunately chances seemed low as there is a history of co-operatives encountering management problems, thus leading to the buildings becoming over-taken by a big Housing Association. When investigating the area surrounding the co-operatives, there is little evidence of other housing catering for the creative class, see figure 10 and figure 11. Concurrently, there is evidence of families living in the co-operatives hinting that these buildings are starting to become solely residential. In fact, most local residents did not realise that these buildings were co-operatives.



Figure 10 showing co-operatives on Ellingfort Road, London Fields East



Figure 11 showing private residential buildings built opposite the co-operative

It is interesting to note that governance here has channelled state aid into the development of an area containing the creative class, but through raising the land and property values it appears - according to residents interviewed - to be pricing some of them out. At the same time social Social-economic factors must be acknowledged as important factors for the out-movement of the creative class. Changes in social or family status generally lead to a change in the preferences for housing stock, infrastructure and amenities provision. Figure 12 illustrates evidence of a change in ideology due to a social movement from poor creative class to prosperous creative class. The SPACE studio in Martello Street illustrates economic factor pushing out the creative class from these creative quarters. SPACE lease ends in 2007, the landlord wants to sell the land for financial gain. Consequently those renting the SPACE studios must move out.

Matt's Gallery

A Brief History: 1979 - Present

Robin Klassnik graduated from Leicester College of Art in 1968 and moved to London where he took up a Space studio at St Katherine's Dock. In this new and fertile context Klassnik found himself so affected by the space that he was forced to reconsider his practice. He abandoned painting and began using sculpture, 8mm film and photography. In 1971, Klassnik moved studios to Martello Street, London Fields in East London where he continued to work in sculpture and performance. At this time he exhibited nationally and internationally at venues including the Institute of Contemporary Art, Whitechapel Art Gallery and the Paris Biennale.

[...]

Matt's Gallery opened in 1979 in his studio, a gesture that did not receive total endorsement from the studio complex at the time, although the presence of galleries in locations such as this is far from unusual now. The Gallery was named after Klassnik's dog, Matt E. Mulsion. Artists were invited to use Klassnik's studio to make a work for an exhibition which was open for one week.

The intention of Matt's Gallery was, and remains, to provide artists with the space and time to develop new ideas and possibly new ways of working while making a new work for the space in which it is to be exhibited. In this way it was hoped to

provide the best possible conditions for the making and exhibiting of fine art, in particular to allow for the fine tuning for which there is often not enough time at other galleries.

Alongside this premise is an element of collaboration between the artist and Robin Klassnik. The philosophy which informs the making and presentation of work at the gallery and its publishing programme is unique. It has been seminal to the development of attitudes towards those processes in the visual arts over the last twenty years.

Artists invited to work in the space are not necessarily well known and it is characteristic for Klassnik to take risks with little known and younger artists as well as with established artists who find the need for an open approach which they cannot find elsewhere. Many of the artists who have worked with the gallery and for whom it has provided this opportunity have been highly commended for their work and have represented their countries at major international exhibitions.

[...]

The gallery is non-profit making and during the early years was supported by Klassnik's lecturing income. [...] In 1992, the gallery received a substantial increase in its annual revenue funding from the London Arts Board to enable relocation to new premises in Bow. Klassnik was able to give up full-time teaching but still maintains his involvement with art education through his work as an external examiner and lectures given to University and College students at the Gallery.

In 1993 the gallery registered as a Friendly Society, thus attaining charitable status and allowing it to receive funds from a broader range of charities and agencies. The gallery pays all costs related to the making of the work. This includes the cost of all materials, catalogues, cards, publicity and advertising material and the payment of a fee to the artist. Matt's Gallery receives revenue funding from London Arts and regular funding and support from The Henry Moore Foundation, The Arts Council of England and The Elephant Trust. A grant from the Regional Arts Lottery Programme is allowing for the current redevelopment of this site.

Figure 12 is an extract from www.mattsgallery.org/archive/history

The remaining low value housing stocks are the former council estates, privatised under Thatcher's Right To Buy policy. The flats are too small for many and have bad noise insulation, hence unsuitable for the creative class. Instead, students have come to play the role of next-round gentrifiers. In essence, the legacy of the culture quarter, and its connotation, has remained in Queensbridge

attracting large amount of in-movement, despite the creative classes starting to look elsewhere.

The 2001 census data illustrates a change in population profile in Queensbridge, since 1981. The population of people living in council-owned houses in Queensbridge has gone down 38%, while owner-occupation has risen by 19%. Queensbridge residents with university degrees further illustrate this, from 3% in 1981; it has risen to 39%, in 2001. Evidence shows a new population profiles of Queensbridge, in the 2001 census data, are wealthier and economically stable; there is less evidence of the working and poor creative class in Queensbridge.

Generally speaking the creative class would like to stay but are not willing to pay more rent. If the building stock is right, but not economic viable, it is not deemed to be suitable: the location is a secondary factor. This can be seen in the case of SPACE's most recent acquisition, Fish Island in a North East London suburb of Forest Hill, is seen as a suitable area because it is a former industrial site and cheap to rent out.

The conclusions that have been drawn from the London case study is that government plays a major part in the creation of the area's creative class and gentrification. Policies, such as Compulsory Purchase, meant that people lost their homes and increased problems of homelessness and vacant buildings, further causing social malaises and deterioration to the urban fabric. Right To Buy speeded up the displacement of the former working class residents. On the other hand, government funding - in this case regeneration and EU Objective 2 funds - plays an important part in the consolidation of a creative class settlement and in pushing it up-market.

Hackney is becoming more desirable and there is evidence of gentrification spreading from the southeast, partially due to both government and developers branding Queensbridge as the arts district of East London. Another factor for

consideration is that most creative class and non-profit studio providers' buildings are leased, rather than freehold, making them prone to displacement once rent increases.

In light of the recent findings from the literature review and the London case study, three questions must be asked: What will happen to Queensbridge once gentrification is more advanced? What areas of Hackney will not be affected directly from gentrification? And, what will happen to Hackney's creative class? The next section will be describing gentrification in New York, especially the movement of the creative class from Lower East Side.

New York case study

New York's city core, Manhattan, went through deindustrialisation in the 1880s, however, New York has remained a magnet for people and business. Industries moved to the outer boroughs - The Bronx, Staten Island, Queens, and Brooklyn. Many zoned industrial areas in the outer boroughs are still vacant. In recent times, New York went through virtual bankruptcy from 1972 to 1980, and had another economic recession between the mid-1980s to early 1990s. During economic dips, governmental services had been cut back, often selective, forcing people out of the city centre, leading to abandonment of some areas.

The creative class settlement grew out of counter-culture of the 1960s, it was first found in Greenwich Village, and then moved to SoHo and TriBeCa. By the 1980s, Lower East Side had started to become the new creative class settlement. The current trend shows the creative class moving to the outer boroughs. These neighbourhoods are historically working-class, high immigration rate, and virtually inaccessible by public transport. There is evidence of the Lower East Side still attracting a huge proportion of the creative class; this is proven in several interviews conducted during my fieldwork in New York. Figure 13 and 14 further illustrates the presence of the creative class in this area. The New York case study will look at Lower East Side and Williamsburg.



Figure 13 illustrates a fabric warehouse still existing in Lower East Side



Figure 14 provides evidence that galleries still exist in the East Village

Lower East Side

Lower East Side is found in the southeast of Manhattan, shown in figure 15. Despite being next to affluent areas like Wall Street, Lower East Side is badly connected by public transport. Its main industry had been clothing manufacturing and warehouses, but largely provided dwellings for the working-class and the poor. The building stocks of the area are mainly tenements, see figure 16, but have large former industrial buildings to the extreme north and south of the neighbourhood, figure 17. Furthermore, there are "projects" to the east, which in the UK would be known as council housing. Historically, Lower East Side has been the home of first immigrants to New York and a disregarded area by New York's government. In the 1970s economic recession, the Puerto Rican immigrants expressed their political disapproval by cultural events and public art. Lower East Side provided poor living conditions, and was not a desirable area in which to live, in fact, Lower East Side was a notoriously dangerous area.

At the same time SoHo, short for South Houston, a former industrial area, was quickly becoming New York's second "art's district". It was a desirable place to live. The utilisation of lofts - the most expensive type of housing in Manhattan – in SoHo had soon reached capacity; with huge demand SoHo was no longer affordable to a majority of fine artists.



Figure 15 showing the districts of Manhattan
 – source www.areaplanningguide.com
 obtained 20th December 2004

Fine artists saw the north of Lower East Side as cheaper and a more attractive alternative. It had similar building stock, affordable, historical and cultural associations, and had little restrictions to zoning. It was easy to live in, work, and hold exhibitions in one building. This was to attract other fine artists and their associates, i.e. the creative class.

New York's economic rebounded in 1980 and the explosion of creativity and exposure by the creative class, especially the neo-expressionist (fine art movement) and the new wave punk (music and cultural) movement, caused the re-emergence of the desire for 'urban living'. There was an unintentional art driven renaissance of the north of Lower East Side. According to some commentators on the history of Lower East Side - such as Mele (2002) and Abu-Lughod (1994) - the art driven renaissance had been observed and encouraged by developers and the real estate market by attempting to remove Lower East Side connotations of

tenements, slums, immigrants, and sweatshops, by branding the areas between 14th Street and Houston Street as “East Village”. According to many tourist guidebooks about New York, the East Village was becoming known as the third art’s district in New York, and further distancing itself from Lower East Side, by establishing becoming a new district of Manhattan (figure 15 is a map extracted from a tourist guidebook and has included the East Village as a district of Manhattan).

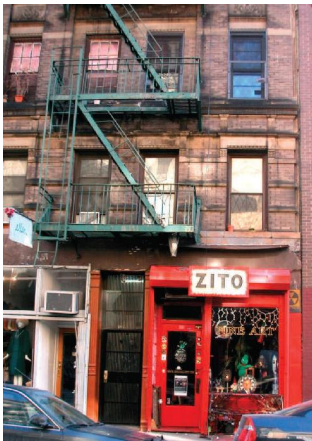


Figure 16 illustrating tenements on Orchard Street



Figure 17 illustrating warehouses in China Town

By 1984, recession hit New York, and ended the new art movement in the East Village. Disinvestment and government cut backs were selective against those who had little voice in society. People in lower social classes, including the creative class in the Lower East Side were hit badly. At the same time, building codes were becoming updated and strongly enforced. There were no demands for buildings in the Lower East Side, due to a lack of immigrants moving in and people wanting to move out. It was more feasible for landlords to abandon and burn their buildings, in order to collect insurance money, than to comply with the building codes. Government policies had been enacted to prevent abandonment, such as tax relief. However, its effect was limited, David Favaloro believed that abandonment was still a cheaper and quicker option for landlords. Peter

Marcuse, believing that developers looking for profit via producing a 'rent gap' or taking ownership of a block (see figure 18), provides another suggestion for the existence of abandonment despite governmental intervention.



Figure 18 is a row of abandoned buildings along Ludlow Street - these buildings are owned by a developer and are now going through a period of demolition and redevelopment

Abandonment and social disorder was rife in the Lower East Side; squatters and junkies dominated patches of the neighbourhood, and the guerrilla art movement was widespread. Here, art was not used by the creative class but was created by the indigenous residents; this form of art was seen as negative to developers and real estate because this expressed a lower-class status through aesthetics. By the late 1980s, New York's economy was recovering, unemployment was going down, desirable neighbourhoods got better, the city got more tax revenues, and services improved. However, Lower East Side was still not a place to move to by choice. Gentrification was not at the same rate as it was in the early 1980s.

The attempt at gentrification of the Lower East Side in the 1990s did not operate through the creative class. Instead, the neighbourhood was thought to be strong enough to encourage movement of the service sector workers. Barriers to the in-movement of these people were the indigenous residents, especially the squatters. Joseph Cunin believed that this had been overcome by Mayor Giuliani's 'tough on crime' policies, which removed many of the squatters and drug-dealers in the neighbourhood. But at the same time a local resident believes that some residents move away because they 'felt too safe' and the district had lost its 'brutal reality'. The East Village is no longer the heart-bed of art and creativity it once was.

Lower East Side saw rent increases and failed to secure a creative legacy to attract prosperous fine artists into the area. Once fine artists become established, they generally move to SoHo. Incidentally, the remaining galleries in Lower East Side, like ABC No Rio as shown in figure 19, are found where land is still cheap, below the East Village towards the Hudson River. The majority of poor artists moved to the outer boroughs, such as Williamsburg.



Figure 19 was a former occupied building but is now a workshop and gallery space, found at Rivington Street

The displacement of the local residents and improvement in building stock and services was needed to get to the next stage of gentrification. With the out-movement of fine artists, developers faced another obstacle: most of the legal tenants of the Lower East Side were living in co-ops, and New York still has the policy of rent regulation and stabilisation. This was overcome by a breakdown in management by government or co-ops, waiting for natural movement out from the residents, natural desire to leave the area, those who could not afford city living, a change in family status or death.

Once dwellings are left vacant, they are cheaply renovated, thus the rent rises. Often they are left empty until the whole block is vacant, which can then be rebuilt or rehabilitated, this is shown in figure 20. Lower East Side has seen developers buying buildings and ripping out the internal unit stock, then building

apartments worth millions of dollars. For example, figure 21 is a corner building that had two separate units converted to two-floor condos and sold for \$2.5m. To put it differently, developers achieved displacement via profiting from a 'rent gap'.



Figure 20 showing a new hotel complex built in Rivington Street



Figure 21 showing tenements between Stanton Street and Ludlow Street converted to luxury condos

With the new population profile of a large influx of NYU students and young, rich, single people Lower East Side saw improvements in its service provision. According to many local residents, whom I spoke to during informal interviews between 19th and 26th of January 2005, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) and New York University (NYU) mainly provided this, along with government assistance, but there is still a lack of services for families, for example, there are no schools in the Lower East Side.

According to Joseph Cunin, the garment area near China Town and Orchard Street's discount markets and boutiques had given Lower East Side the title of the 'commercial heart of the city'. It is still true today, yet these areas are now

producing and selling high-end commodities. With this trendy bars and restaurants are replacing working-class cafés.

So it can be seen gentrification has directly affected some of the creative class. The Lower East is now comprised of prosperous fashion designers and shops, the fine artists, poor fashion designers and shops have moved away. Yet there is evidence of undesirable unit space, namely projects and basements. Projects are government property, so are heavily regulated, on the other hand, basements are privately owned space. Basements are large but lack windows for natural light and attracting passing customers, therefore, they are cheap because they are undesirable as living or commercial space. There are two possible clienteles, bar owners and musicians.

Musicians are attracted to the area because of its music legacy beginning from the new wave punk era of the early 1980s. There is a thriving music scene, and established cluster of music venues found one block south from the East Village; mainly found at basement level. Basements of tenements provide a large room with good acoustics and sound insulation. The survival of the music cluster of the creative class is purely due to strict building regulation on safety issues during bar conversions, for example, the venue must provide at least two fire exits. In essence, landlords prefer to illegally convert their basements to recording studios than bars because of the low maintenance. Figure 22 illustrates a typical building stock desired by the audio arts section of the creative class.



Figure 22 Arlene's Grocery on Stanton Street, a former grocery store now converted into a concert venue

In summary, Lower East Side has a lack of suitable buildings providing for good living conditions. The former manufacturing buildings in the East Village quickly reached their capacity of direct loft conversion, pushing fine artists out of Lower East Side. The warehouses to the south are still in use, but once become vacant, they are turned quickly into lofts. Furthermore, projects and tenements were poor quality building stock and are undesirable by the creative class. The creative class found in the garment districts has more or less stayed; some buildings have been turned into bars and restaurants, but have mainly changed from low-order to high-order shops. A result of this case study shows the music section of the creative class has survived displacement during Lower East Side gentrification because of the basement unit types and government regulations.

If the trend is for prosperous creative classes to move to established areas: what happened to the poor creative class? New York's city core, Manhattan, is too expensive so they tended to move to the outer boroughs. In knowing this we will investigate the creative class in Williamsburg, Brooklyn.

Williamsburg

When Manhattan was becoming a commercial and financial hub since the 1880s, a large stretch of land faced the East River, namely Newtown Creek to Greenpoint and Williamsburg; and Navy Yard to Red Hook became the ideal relocation spot for the industrial sector moving away from Manhattan. Table 2 demonstrates that the 1980s deindustrialisation increased unemployment and left many vacant industrial buildings in Williamsburg. Figure 23 is a zoned map illustrating most of the industrial buildings were located by the waterfront, meaning most of the vacant buildings are found by the waterfront.

Date	Establishments	Employment
1977	745	19,339
1984	665	16,643
1988	604	11,459

Table 2 showing manufacturing employment in Brooklyn – Source: Brooklyn In Touch Information Centre, Inc (1990)

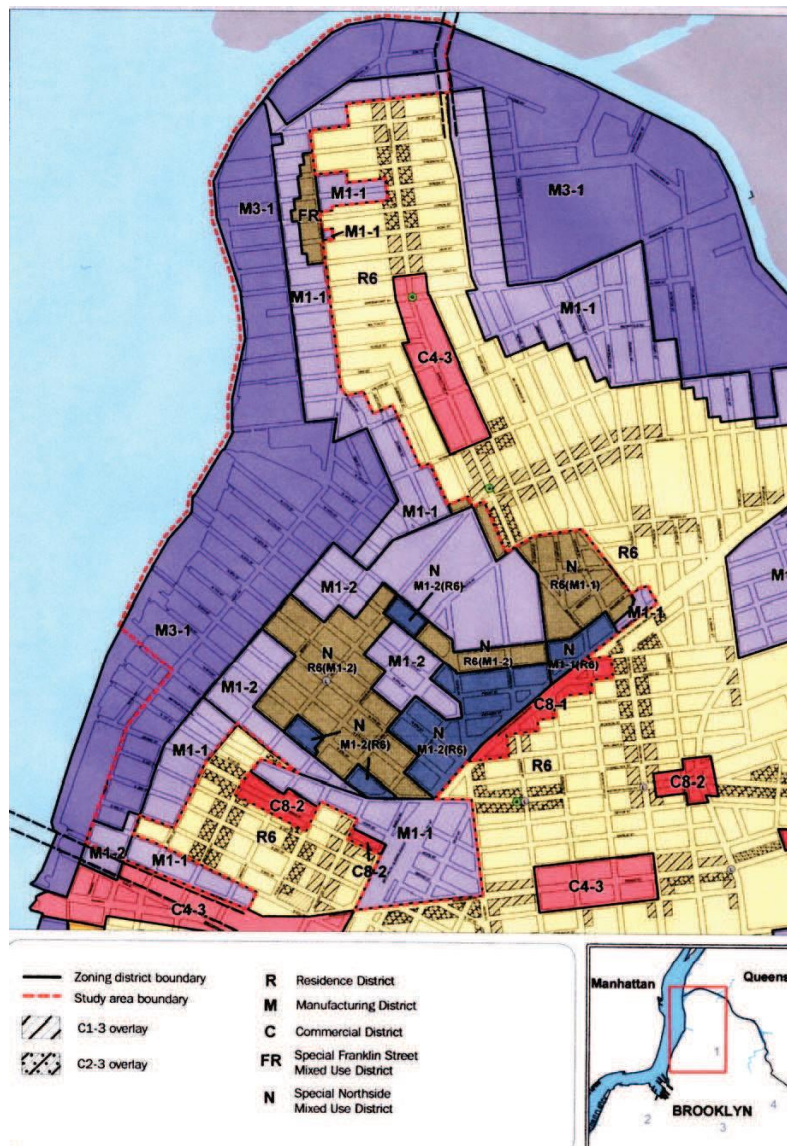


Figure 23 is a zoning map showing a high concentration of manufacturing building along the waterfront – Source: The City of New York Department of City Planning, 2003.

Brooklyn In Touch Information Centre, Inc (1990) provided statistics of Williamsburg in the early and mid-1980s. Exemplifying a typical profile of former industrial areas in Brooklyn during the same period, which coincidentally is similar to the Lower East Side during the 1970s. High immigration rate in 1985,

see chart 1, whereby Hispanics making up almost 45% of the population. 34% of the population being high school graduates and 4% of them being college graduates. Williamsburg, in the 1980s, was not a place to live by choice.

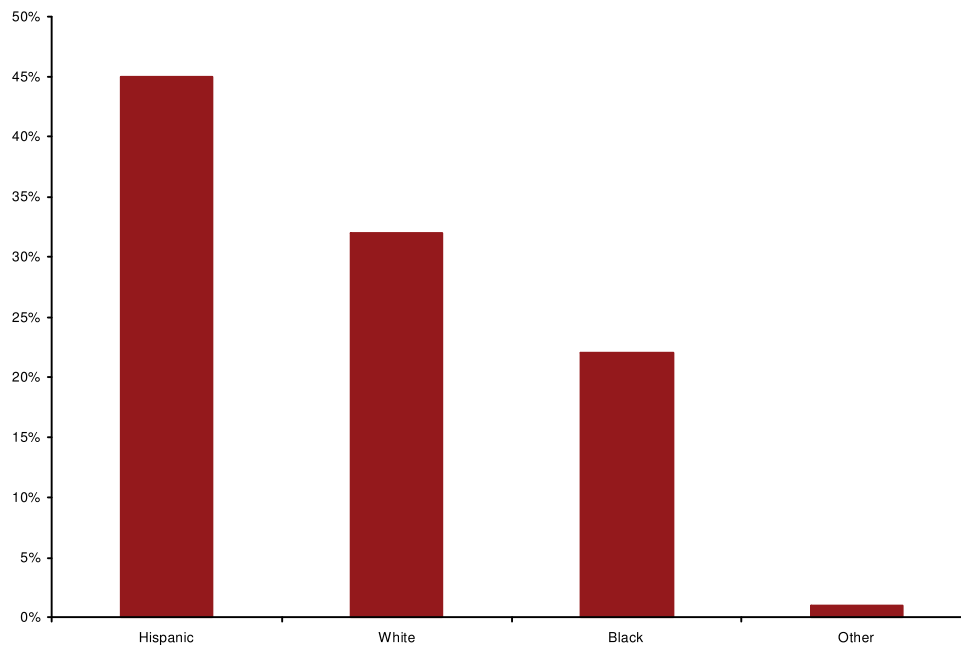


Chart 1 showing population in Williamsburg in 1985 – Source: Brooklyn In Touch Information Centre, Inc (1990)

Williamsburg is well connected to Manhattan and is accessible to prosperous areas such as SoHo, East Village and the West Village; figure 24 demonstrates the L-line directly connecting East Village (1st Ave) to Williamsburg (Bedford Avenue to Morgan Avenue). During interviews in New York, there has been a suggestion of an L-line phenomenon, whereby gentrification has been moving eastwards, along the L-line. Yet, there are anomalies, such as Montrose Avenue, which is in-between Bedford Avenue and Morgan Avenue. A further investigation of Montrose Avenue will be made later in this section.

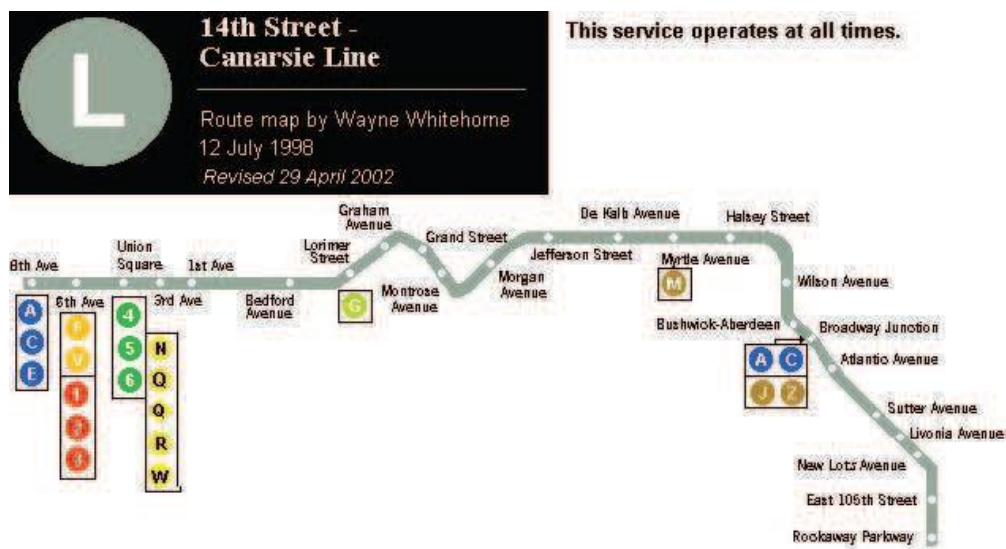


Figure 24 showing diagram of the L-line – Source: www.mta.info date obtained: 23rd February 2005

A recent development in the creative class movement to Bedford Avenue was because fine artists were pushed out of the East Village, the large amount of cheap, disused warehouse space, and the L-line providing direct links to the East Village were attractive to the poor fine artists.

The waterfront has the highest concentration of warehouses and Artists In Residents (AIR) buildings; figure 25 demonstrates how they were made known with signs. These are commercially rented units, but with the landlord agreement, the artists also illegally live in the same space. Just like the basement in Lower East Side, and squats in Hackney this was possible because regulation was not strictly enforced. These AIR buildings were not used as galleries, the purpose is to communicate to other members of the creative class that show that artists live in that block.



Figure 25 demonstrates a sign that indicates there is an artist residing in the building

The agglomeration of fine artists attracted other sections of the creative class, including musicians, brought together by new expression of ideologies and ways of expression, namely, what is now known as, the "avant-tarde" movement, creating the Williamsburg scene. Similarly comparisons with 1980s Lower East Side is evident, the neo-expressionist and New Wave Punk movement attracted in-movement of the creative class into East Village. The new art lifestyle began to attract the middle-classes and service sector workers.

The Williamsburg scene slowly began to die off; during the time gentrification was at an advanced stage. de Koff (2002) believed, "All the people who moved [to Williamsburg] when they were 25 are now in their thirties and having kids... It's basically turning into Park Slope"(de Koff, 2002). That is to say a change in family status does not fit with the bohemian lifestyle. There was an increase in

demand for services and infrastructure for families, once these are provided, rent increased.

Demand for housing in Williamsburg is so high that, in 2004, The City of New York Department of City Planning had intervened by re-zoning the waterfront from commercial and manufacturing to residential and proposed new massing on the waterfront, shown on figure 26. This situation could be described as loft legalisation on the waterfront; once again artists living in the AIR buildings are in danger of being forced out.

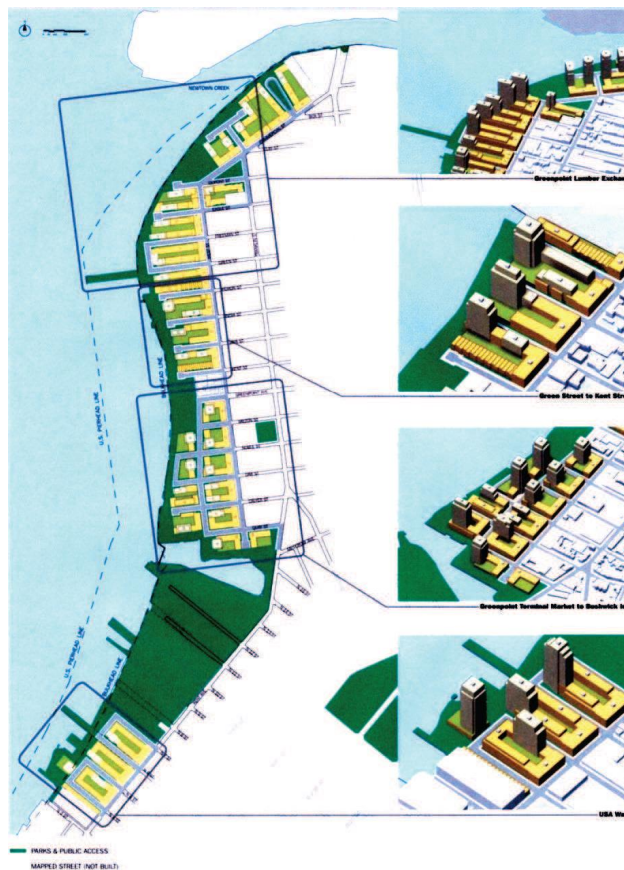


Figure 26 is a zoning map showing illustrative massing of residential buildings along the waterfront – Source: The City of New York Department of City Planning, 2004.

In effect it took about fifteen years until the government began to intervene in Williamsburg's development, while Lower East Side is still seeing developers as the protagonist for gentrification (figure 27). There is evidence that Bedford Avenue is at a more advanced stage in gentrification than Lower East Side. An explanation would be the area being a large community for Orthodox Jews, who have a strong political connected community and a loud political voice, making the government more reactive to the area.

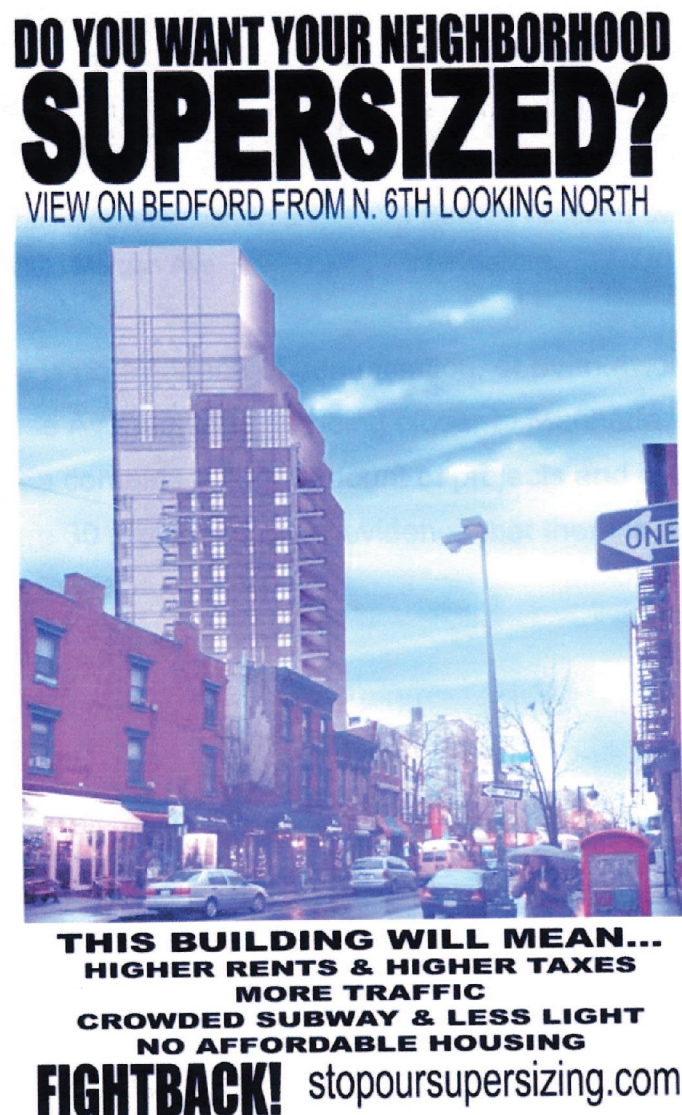


Figure 27 poster demonstrating against new government plan – source:
www.stopoursupersizing.com obtained on 19th January 2005

Further along the L-line is Morgan Ave. Like Bedford Avenue, there are a lot of vacant buildings, mainly warehouses. Both figure 28 and 29 illustrates that 'art-led' gentrification is occurring.



Figure 28 demonstrating gentrification on a typical building stock in Morgan Ave



Figure 29 illustrates evidence of government interventions

Meanwhile there is no evidence of gentrification, or even evidence of the creative class on Montrose Avenue, despite being closer to Manhattan than Morgan Avenue. The area contains a large amount of projects and is clearly zoned as residential. Figure 30 provides further evidence that there is no sign of a creative class settlement.



Figure 30 illustrating typical building stock on Montrose Ave

From analysing three stops on the L-line it is clear that geographic location is not a major factor for the relocating of the creative class. The building stock is a more important factor.

General findings from the London and New York case studies

From the two case studies there is evidence that the creative class is involved in gentrification. This section of the dissertation will extrapolate findings from the case study and attempt to generalise the role of the creative class in gentrification.

Before the popularisation of 'urban living', most of the urban centres, especially in the former industrial and working class areas, were vacant and considered undesirable to live in. It was not until the re-emergence of urban living, gentrification began. New York saw this 'urban renaissance' from 1980, while London did not indicate this change in behaviour on a large scale until the 1990s. In light of this fact, it is right to assume gentrification in New York should be at a more advance stage in gentrification, at least by a decade.

It is important to note that the creative class do not seek to gentrify an area. They behave like any group of people in a society. The creative class seek to find a place to live within their fiscal capacity. This is why they are found in poverty stricken part of the city. What is also apparent is that the creative class locate in these undesirable areas that have the right building stock. This is why the creative class settled in Morgan Ave, and not Montrose Avenue.

These areas containing the creative class begin to form an ideology and had been spread by local knowledge or word of mouth. Once these areas, and the ideology association, become mainstream, developers and the Real Estate market begins to market the area with the association that it is an established 'creative area'. Examples are the neo-expressionists and new wave punk in Lower East Side, during the 1980s, Electro-clash and 'avant-tarde' in Williamsburg, during the 1990s, and the 'Shoreditch Twats' in Shoreditch and Hoxton.

It has become clear that the creative class is not the only group to be seen as the first group of gentry: students are often the pioneers. During the 1990s attempt of gentrification of the Lower East Side NYU students were targeted, because the remaining affordable housing stock in Lower East Side, which were on the market, was tenements. To put it differently, the creative class is used as the first gentrifiers only if the building stock is right: otherwise students are used.

Once there are indications of an up movement in social class, the political 'voice' becomes louder, aiding their ability to demand more infrastructure and amenities. Consequently, the government reacts, improving the area, and raise the land value, which will ultimately displace both the indigenous residents and the first-wave gentry.

In truth, current implemented policies attempting to keep indigenous residents often delayed, rather than prevent, the gentrification process. Once the creative class move to an area it seems inevitable that gentrification will follow.

Re-assessing the hypothesis

Earlier in the dissertation, a list was produced, attempting to provide seven issues behind 'art-led' gentrification. After research by means of literature review and case studies, this section will discuss the extent of the truth of these issues. Since the research, a recent development brought attention to a new issue: Different factors control the rate of gentrification. This will also be discussed.

Issue 1: The creative class is the first gentry during gentrification

The study provides evidence that the creative class is one of two groups functioning as first wave gentrifiers, students being the other. Students are often used when the building stock is inadequate to the creative class. To put it differently, the creative class is used when the neighbourhood's building stock are large and adequate for them to work in.

Issue 2: The movement of gentries follow the same sequence. I.e. poor to creative to middle-class to rich

Studies indicate the first gentry look to settle in buildings with the right space that is cheap to rent. These requirements are often matched in poor areas, i.e. former industrial neighbourhoods consisting of immigrants, high amount of council-owned housing, and vacant sites.

Evidence is shown that fine artists are often the first section of the creative class to move out and be replaced with rich, middle-class residents. Those involved in audio arts require a different type of space, which is not so desirable for other uses, therefore they are able to stay in an area for longer. In short, unit types vary in an area, not all units are desirable, therefore some people are able to stay in the same place for longer.

As a result, the final outcome of a gentrified area is much more diverse mix of classes, including the working-class, creative class, middle-class, and the upper-class.

Issue 3: Developers are the most important actors in gentrification

It is true to say in both case studies that gentrification is economically driven. It is especially noticeable when studying the Lower East Side whereby development is impeded during economic recession and re-emerges after an economic boom.

The influence of developers on the gentrification of Lower East Side has been noted when they took full advantage of the movement of the creative class into the north of the Lower East Side, creating the image of a new art scene by re-branding the north of Lower East Side as the 'East Village'.

Studies have shown that New York gentrification is mostly influenced by developer's speculative developments, while it is mainly government incentives that aid gentrification in London.

Issue 4: The government's role in gentrification is equally important as developers

As noted on the third issue, gentrification of Lower East Side is a market phenomenon, rather than a development from government policy. In fact, the government in New York is reactive and become involved when gentrification is at its advance stages. Improved service provision and infrastructure enable secondary displacement

London provides a bigger role for government in gentrification. We have seen different tiers of government involved during the initial stages of gentrification. This is because the British planning uses a 'plan-led' system.

Issue 5: The creative class is an unstable collective. I.e. find it hard to settle in one area for a long time

Looking for places with cheap rent means they have to be flexible and extremely mobile. Once an area becomes desirable, the price of amenities and services increases, giving those in the creative class less money to invest on their work. It is important to remember that the majority of the creative class are on short leasehold, rather than freehold, meaning once an area becomes expensive, they can move from the area.

Issue 6: The displacement of the creative class is caused by them being priced out

There is clear link with the creative class and increased land value. With the knowledge that the creative class prefer to invest on their work, and not their environment, it is easy to say they are priced out. Conversely, it is easier for the creative class to be displaced in London than in New York because of it has no rent regulation or rent stabilisation.

Moreover, there are a number of other factors said to be responsible for movement out of an area by the creative class. There have been suggestions of growing to dislike the area, change in family status, and becoming successful.

Issue 7: The creative class are pushed away from the city centre

There is evidence of the creative class spreading out away from the city core, and even to surrounding districts. For example, London has seen the creative class spreading to other counties, such as Essex and Kent. But yet further analysis argues different ideologies within the creative class have spread out, as oppose to the group as a whole.

Research has shown once an area becomes gentrified, those who cannot compete for the same space seek an alternative location. As previously mentioned, different sections of the creative class have different building requirements, table 3 summarises this.

<i>Fine Art</i>	<i>Audio arts</i>	<i>Visual/Fashion/Shops</i>	<i>Office-based</i>
Large windows	Good sound insulation	Close to public transport	Established area
Large room to store work	Large space	Ground floor frontage with a very large shop front windows	Close to public transport
Their studio is close to where they live	Close to good public transport or car parking	Close of other shops or galleries	

Table 3 show preferred location and type of space required by different types of the creative classes

The case studies have shown that there are two important sections of the creative class: the fine artists and those involved in audio arts. It is clear that fine artists seek cheap, large space that provides natural lighting. However, they compete with those who desire what Zukin (1995) calls 'loft living', who desire the same type of space. They are the ones who are often out-priced and pushed further from the city core. On the other hand, those who are involved with audio arts require good sound insulation and a large space. We have seen evidence that basements being used as suitable space. This type of space are not otherwise desirable, therefore rent is low and less competitive. In other words, the audio arts section of the creative class is able to stay in a gentrified area. The

effect is that the audio arts establish the legacy of the area's ideology; still attracting people with the same ideology. Lower East Side and Camden, in London, are examples of areas with a punk/rock scene and still attracting in-movement of the creative class with the same ideologies.

The creative class who was displaced look for areas with cheap rent, and the right housing stock. Incidentally, those who move out is most likely to have another set of ideologies and once they settle in another area, a new set of agglomeration of ideologies develop and the gentrification cycle repeats. The only difference is that a different type of music or art form dominates that area.

What is also significant is that prosperous creative class are moving into gentrified area. For example, the creative class who has become successful in Williamsburg is moving to Lower East Side, to be more precise the East Village.

To put it differently, the creative class is not pushed away from the city core. New ideologies form and is established in new areas. Different types of ideologies are not clustered; instead they are spread out, leading to the scattering of creative classes. What you now have in New York is people who are associated with punk go living or clubbing in the East Village, whilst those wanting more electronic sounds hang out at Bedford Avenue.

Issue 8: Different factors control the rate of gentrification

The analysis of the fieldwork carried out in New York raised a new issue: why are newer gentrifying areas at a more advance stage of gentrification than Lower East Side? Four influences have been identified: the social profile of the neighbourhood, economics, political efficiency in the provision of services, and the physicality of the building stock.

It has been shown that social status of the neighbourhood may aid or hinder the rate of gentrification. Looking at Lower East Side during the 1970s, the population were generally described as of a lower-class background and experienced poor services and infrastructure. When parts of the Lower East Side was re-branded the East Village, a higher social class, the creative class, had a larger voice and saw improvements to services and infrastructure, ultimately increasing the desirability of the area. In short, a higher social class greatly increases the rate of gentrification.

The economic situation of the neighbourhood and the country is important for investment. It was clear that gentrification in Lower East Side was controlled by developers and followed the economic cycle. Britain, however it appears that changes are influenced more by government expenditure, here gentrification happens if any tier of government invest in the area. In short, better fiscal resources increase the rate of gentrification

The rate of gentrification vary depending on when the government responses to demand for improve services and provide infrastructure and amenities. Needless to say these improvements will increase the speed of gentrification. Incidentally, the type of improvement will affect the in-movers.

When investigating the so-called L-line phenomenon, Montrose Avenue appeared to be at a slower rate of gentrification then Morgan Avenue, despite it being closer to Manhattan. The explanation for this is that the area is dominated with projects and residential buildings, while Morgan Avenue is dominated with warehouses. The larger unit size is seen as more adequate space for the creative class to live and/or work in. To this day Lower East Side demonstrate this, projects to the east are at a slow rate of gentrification, whilst the tenements at Ludlow Street are made into bigger units, and are now sold for over a million dollars.

Critique (limitations of the research)

It is questionable whether 'art-led' gentrification is transferable in both space and time, as technological advance has not been considered as an important factor influencing the location of people and activity.

Moreover, the case studies needed to be observed for longer than a year. For example the New York case study needed more primary studies to obtain a better understanding on undocumented events that may be caused by art-led gentrification. For example, CBGBs, a famous punk club in Lower East Side, has recently announced that they will be closing in August 2005 because of its rent doubling, which hints at the beginnings of the movement out of the audio arts sector of the creative class.

Research on London is sufficient, however, to gain a better understanding of it's 'art-led' gentrification. A fuller study on the history of Hoxton and Shoreditch is necessary, as well as providing a more detailed research on developers' involvement and the interaction of developers with public policy.

The use of New York and London as comparable cities is correct for a master's dissertation, but further studies on 'beta' cities, such as Milan is necessary. This study would provide further insight on the impact of lifestyle, and different government structures, on 'art-led' gentrification. According to informal interviews held in Italy, Cantieri Isola in Milan and Primavalle in Rome are currently going through a similar process, but at the less advance stages.

Ultimately, the gentrification of neighbourhoods in a city is unique, periodic, and in constant cycles. In other words, there should be no final outcome. Emphasising that constant research and monitoring of different cities are essential, thus removing anomalies, specific to a city at a certain time.

Conclusion - the future for Hackney

In light of different actors having different levels of influence – the developers are the most important actor in New York, whilst government is more influential in London – there are different possible approaches to making a ‘better’ area.

Generally, developers and government did not premeditate actions to bring in this class into ‘bad’ neighbourhoods. These areas are often cheap to rent and consist of the right building type. When the area becomes established as a creative quarter then the creative class becomes a marketing tool. Often this is followed by an out-movement by the indigenous residents, including the poor creative class. Evidence is beginning to emerge that the Queensbridge ward is beginning to follow that trend.

Ultimately, a stable economy allows a stable community. In Britain, fewer resources are directed towards the creative class consequently they are less able to compete to stay in an area. Developers are becoming increasingly important, therefore a convergence to New York type of art-led gentrification. In knowing this, there should be more emphasis on the creative class being an extremely valuable asset to the neighbourhood, so that developers and the creative class are encouraged to interact and develop creative quarters that actually consist of creative classes.

The fact that the British government react to gentrification during its initial stages is extremely important. However the response by the government tend to be in the form of service provision, which has been noted to speed up the rate of gentrification, and therefore creative class displacement. Instead, the early reaction by the government should be taken advantage of by developing policies to ensure the creative class from being displaced during the advance stages of gentrification. The creation of live/work co-operatives in London Lane is a

positive step. Alas, with an inefficient local council and lack of funding towards the creative class, displacement is not prevented, but has been slowed down.

It is noted however that New York have proved without providing specific government interventions to prevent displacement of the creative class, the movement out of the creative class, after gentrification, is not imminent. There are still evidence of those in the audio arts or those seen as the prosperous creative class still found in Lower East Side and Bedford Avenue. To put it differently it is not necessary to concentrate in sustaining all sections of the creative class, as some sections have proved to be able to compete in the markets.

Sustaining the creative class in a creative quarter, such as London Fields East, should look to the individuals, rather than tackling the creative class as a whole. Policies made tackling the creative class tend use a generic idea of a creative class, thus making every individual relying on a different type of creative class, breaking the ability to compete in an area. Evidence has shown that members of the creative class can be separated in many ways with different ideological space, and that each individual have different reasons to move in an out of an area. Therefore, policies should look at groups within the creative class; there is a better chance to keep a variety of individuals, therefore giving the possibility of keeping the creative class in a gentrified area.

The trend of the creative class spreading out across Greater London will continue. It is not profitable for landlords and developers to keep a desirable area at below market level rates, so that the creative class are more able to compete for space.

Another problem faced when attempting to sustain an area is that once an individual member of the creative class becomes prosperous, they tend to have a desire to move out to more established creative quarters of the city. Policy

makers must be aware of creative class desire to move out of an area deemed a creative quarter because the likelihood of an out-movement by someone in the creative class being replaced by another person of the creative class is highly unlikely, the area has become an established type of creative quarter, such as Camden. Ultimately, the best way to sustain the creative class is to encourage them to own the freehold their property.

In summary gentrification concerning the effects caused by the creative class have been discussed. There appears to be a large amount of evidence more and more parts of Hackney will become gentrified because they contain the right conditions for to hold the creative class. The extent of displacement of the creative class in Hackney depends on four factors: the building stock, increasing the numbers of policies made to aid sustaining the existing community, the ability for the creative class to buy freehold property, and increasing the social status and value of the creative class.

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Example of letter asking for an interview for the London case study



Aaron Mo

Peter Snell

1st December 2004

Dear Peter Snell,

Subject: London Fields

Thank you for talking to me, and agreeing to meet with me in two weeks time.

Just to remind you, my name is Aaron Mo and I am currently writing my MSc Town & Country Planning dissertation at UCL. This letter is written, as requested, to give you more of an understanding of my dissertation topic, before the interview.

I wish to identify the artistic community's involvement in rehabilitating and gentrifying an area. My dissertation wish to achieve two aims: firstly, to identify how the process of gentrification, through the use of the arts community; and secondly, to investigate how public policy can stabilize the artistic community from extinguishing. A detailed case study of London Fields East in the mid-1990 will hopefully achieve the latter aim.

This aim will be split into three sections: 1) describing what the area was like before the policy was made, and identifying what made was the motive to make such a unique policy; 2) investigating the problems faced, during making and implementing of the policy; 3) discover what the policy have achieved, physically and socially.

I hope this is useful. I will contact you sometime next week, in order to finalize the time and day of the interview, a meeting place.

Yours truly,

Aaron Mo

Genetic interview questions for London case studies

Questions:

1) Describing what the area was like before the policy was made, and identifying what made was the motive to make such a unique policy:

What were the main reasons for selecting London Fields, specifically London Lane and Ellingfort Road, for such development?

Why did London Fields become an area of 'disrepair'?

How were squatters involved with the surrounding community? Or did they antagonise a dysfunctional neighbourhood?

How much of the community identity influenced the decision not to make the area into an industrial zone, and instead use its creative industry?

2) Investigating the problems faced, during making and implementing of the policy:

How did you justify the implantation of the live/work policy, over the use of the industrial zoned area, found in the UDP, which was more economically beneficial?

How much influence did developers have on creating the policy?

Were squatters a major issue before and during the implementing stage of the policy?

Are you aware of planning policies affecting arts and culture? Do you see it as mainly encouraging or discouraging of bringing in arts and culture into planning?

Artists' lifestyle has a tendency to escape from settling down. Providing buildings for artists will inevitably see a high turnover, it leaves an area as economically unstable. Was this seen as a problem? Is it a problem at present?

"It is clear from the surveys that have been done that there is a very significant level of activity in the cultural industries in Hackney. This is serious economic activity which creates local investment and jobs. There is a view that artists are largely either self-employed or reliant on benefits and barely scrape a living from their work. Indeed current work by URBED in Liverpool is showing this to be true, with artists in the city spending more on outgoings than they earn in fees and sales (in other words they are subsidising their own work). Whilst there are undoubtedly many artists in this position in Hackney, it would be wrong to characterise the whole sector in this way" [URBED (1997) London Fields – the heart of a creative community, Manchester, p9] What do you see the benefits of the art community's 'wasteful practices'? Was the economic unsustainability worrying to planners?

3) Discover what the policy have achieved, physically and socially:

How has the profile of the community changed since the implementation of the policy?

Who owns the buildings, after the policy implementation?

What happened to the squatters? Were they given aid, were they forced to move out of the area, or were they offered a building?
Generic letter send to residents of London Fields East



Aaron Mo



Dear: Sir/Madam

Subject: 1997 London Fields East redevelopment

My name is Aaron Mo and I am currently writing my MSc Town & Country Planning dissertation at UCL; A section of the dissertation will be looking at the policy implemented in 1997, which allowed two roads, London Lane and Ellingfort Road, to become live/work studios and not industrial complexes, as planned in Hackney's Unitary Development Plans (UDP).

I wish to identify the artistic community's involvement in rehabilitating and gentrifying an area. My dissertation wish to achieve two aims: firstly, to identify how the process of gentrification, through the use of the arts community; and secondly, to investigate how public policy can stabilize the artistic community from extinguishing. A detailed case study of London Fields East in the mid-1990 will hopefully achieve the latter aim.

This aim will be split into three sections: 1) describing what the area was like before the policy was made, and identifying what made was the motive to make such a unique policy; 2) investigating the problems faced, during making and implementing of the policy; 3) discover what the policy have achieved, physically and socially.

I have written this letter, hoping to talk to you, so to find out how this policy has affected you and your community. I would very much appreciate if I could meet you; all I need is your permission, so if you could contact me, either by phoning () or by e-mail ().

Thank you very much for taking time in reading this letter, and hopefully I will have the chance to meet you in person.

Yours truly,

Aaron Mo

E-mail response from David Rudlin

From: [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: 1997 London Fields project
Date: 9 December 2004 12:10:27 GMT
To: [REDACTED]
Reply-To: [REDACTED]

Dear Aaron,

Thank you for your material about London Fields in the mid 1990s. As my PA said, I have no time before Christmas. I have however been through your questionnaire and offer the following thoughts.

First of all I was little worried about your use of the word 'policy'. What happened with the artists community in London Fields was not the result of policy as I will explain below. There has for many years been a live-work policy in Hackney. This is not designed to promote live-work as a good thing but rather to control the incursion of housing into protected employment areas under the pretence of creating live-work units. At the same time there was in the mid 1990s an interest in promoting live-work schemes. Peobody did on at Westferry in Docklands and on a smaller scale Greater London Enterprises did a new build scheme in London Fields (it would be interesting to see whether these units are still live work).

The squatted housing in the area is a story of the inefficiency of Hackney Council. The homes had been bought for clearance to make way for industrial units. They were however never cleared and were squatted. For some reason Hackney did nothing for 12 years after which two of the squatters managed to establish pcessory rights (equivalent to owning the house).

While this was going on Hackney had obtained ERDF grant to knock the houses down and build industrial units. The time table for the grant meant they didn't have time to CPO the squatters with pcessory rights so that the squatters had them over a barrel. Meanwhile a squatter representative (Peter Snell) had been elected as a local councillor. He arranged for us to do a study jointly for the squatters, Hackney council and GLE which is where the scheme came from.

In answer to your questions I would therefore offer the following:

1a. The area wasn't selected. It just happened to be where the squatters were.

- 1b. The area fell into disrepair because the housing was acquired by the council and then left to deteriorate. The squatter community was perhaps unsightly but it prevented the area from collapsing.

- 1c. There was a model of the houses in the London Museum (it might be worth checking whether it is still there). This was made by one of the squatters and included models of all of the people who used to live in each house. It was a wonderful community. As for the surrounding area this was all industry. Most of the factory owners seemed pleased that there was someone around to keep an eye on things at night.

- 1d. As I said above this was a pragmatic decision because the council had no choice. We used the creative industries line to help the council justify this.

- 2a/b. The Hackney live/work policy specifically allows for live/work accommodation in a protected industrial zone. The main concern was to ensure that the area didn't go over to just housing. We were able to show that by making the area denser we could match the employment figures of traditional accommodation.

- 2c. GLE were partners in the development (not the policy). In the end they commissioned the buildings and so had influence in that way.

- 2d. You have to understand that the deal was that the squatters legitimised their position – turned themselves into a housing coop and became partners in the development. In return for this they agreed to give up some property and to convert the remainder to live work. There were some problems with squatters who didn't like this deal but generally the process was managed by the squatters themselves.

- 2e. Not recently and can't recall in Hackney.

- 2f. The purpose of the exercise was to stabilise the artist community by putting in place organisational structures to allow them to manage the community. This is difficult and sometimes doesn't work. I don't know what the current position is with the coop.

- 2g. The quote is from me so you know where I stand. It may not appear to be economic activity but it is economically important. There were concerns about this, mainly focussed on whether former squatters would be able to pay the rent.

I have not had recent contact with the area so don't know how they are doing. As to the squatters they took ownership of around half of the property which they managed as a coop and live/worked in themselves. The main person was Joe from the Mare Lane Bike Shop. I've seen him a few times since and things seemed to be going well however I've not been in touch for a few years. It would be good to know how they are doing.

Presumably you have our report since you have quoted from it. If not let us know and we can try and find an archived copy. Hope this help.

David Rudlin
December 2004

Transcript from Edward Allington interview, on the 9th December 2004, 12pm to 1pm.

Edward Allington is the Head of Graduate Sculpture at the Slade School of Art, University College London. Periodically, he had worked and lived around London Fields since 1979. He is currently living in Richmond Road, E8, and has a studio in Martello Street.

Martello Street contains long standing studio blocks, the blocks are maintained and established by art services grants via a charitable organisation called SPACE Studios (SPACE Studios 129-131 Mare Street, Hackney, London E8 3RH; telephone: 0208 525 4332; fax: 020 8525 4342; e-mail: mail@spacestudios.org.uk).

London Fields East has been a long established artist community; thanks to two charitable institutions, ACME and SPACE studios. Galleries have opened in the area, as well as providing artists with studios and dwellings.

Jonathan Harvey and David Panton set up ACME, during the 1970s. At the time, London had a lot of redundant buildings, mainly due to the Local Authority buying the land through compulsory purchase with the intention to provide public buildings, such as schools but could not afford to implement them, due to lack of funds and remained derelict. Jonathan Harvey and David Panton approached the council, organising these buildings in the area to be on short-term lets. There was a catch: the artists who move in must refurbish it, as there will be no additional infrastructure provided by the council. Artists, being self-sustaining and containing constructive knowledge, and is able to refurbish a building: less government spending. Beck Road was one of the first streets of ACME.

Welcome to
www.artistsineastlondon.org

"We read and hear that there are more artists in the East End than any other city in Europe, but where did they come from, why did they choose East London, what were the major events that triggered the first exploratory move thirty years ago, and how did the area become the crucible for this phenomenon?"

This website is a 'curtain-raiser' for a full historical survey which will follow soon. As such the content is not definitive, but it will help you explore this extraordinary story, find out more about the artists involved, and dig a little deeper into the history of the growth and development of their community in East London.

The story has two main threads: firstly how cultural changes in art which in the 60s prompted artists' need to find big buildings, and secondly how in the 70s a new generation of artists' quest for survival led them to East London.

The unfolding of both these journeys saw the formation of two pioneering artists' organisations, SPACE and ACME, who were the key players in this massive influx of artists.

You can find out about the artists, and also the history of the organisations which have supported them through the menu of ten significant buildings, iconic places which at different stages artists came to inhabit and develop their art."

Source: <http://www.artistsineastlondon.org> (9th December, 2004)

Edward Allington believes that the area has changed since 1979. The area was seen as a bad area, but with its increasing amounts of good housing stock and buildings, London Fields East is now highly desirable. The liveliness and animation of the area is another big attraction; Edward Allington believes that it is also the new immigrants, not just artists, who make the area so lively.

Lively commercial streets are very important to generate life in an area; Hackney's creative community still need jobs, so to provide regular income, they obtain part-time jobs, close to where they live, or they set up local shops. Broadway Market is a very good example of a commercial area where most people working there (lesser so owning shops and cafes) are in the creative industries. The area is thriving. The area is starting to build strong economies. But it is also made lively because of other local people: the wider-community is not just made up of artists. Edward Allington had observed that artists, along with new immigrants, are mostly found in the poorest boroughs. Creating such local economies as described above.

Butlers Wharf is a good example of artist's movement and gentrification; and an indication of the future of London Fields East. The gentrification process is very much in motion, as noted previously; the area has become highly desirable. The leasehold on block for studios in Martello Road will end in 2007. The landlord wants to sell the land, for financial gain: Edward Allington believes it is because of the inevitable gentrification process and that nothing they could do to change the decision. He is more concerned about his own work.

Essentially, artists try to find cheap land on a suitable street: at the time, London fields were one of the cheapest lands in London. The cluster of artists in London Fields is because of studio provision in certain areas by ACME and SPACE studios. Friends' location was secondary when Edward Allington was deciding where to find studio space; all it did was to provide awareness of the area. Relocation of artists does not mean a relocation of the same group of artists. However, Edward Allington called most artists living in the London Fields area as 'club artists', where they need to be established economically and have a steady structured group of friends: their situation maybe different.

Having enough money to spend on their work is of primary concern, therefore, what is useful is to find a place to live and work. Spending a lot of money to find the right area is not common for artists. Cheap rent means more money is invested on the work, not the environment. The artist does not spend time to build the right environment, as long as it supports its work; the area and the studio space has done its job. Artists are starting to move out of London, as studio space, however, London is where the major art scene is (just like businesses- fight for space?).

In the case of Matt's Gallery: Moving to Martello Street was a stepping stone, as it became more successful, it was able to move to Mile End and allowing Robin Klassnik to concentrate as a curator. The environment was of primary concern in this case. There seems to be a difference of fiscal distribution between artists and curators.

To conclude the case of artist's movement: people are moved because of profit, but would prefer to settle in an area. The studio is seen as an investment, in the broader sense, it is an investment in their artwork. Essentially their aim is to invest on their artwork, not the studio, as Edward Allington said; "who cares where the area is". A permanent location is necessary, but the look of the studio is not: as long it is functional.

Edward Allington did not know much about the squatters, however he did not see any clear evidence of their actions that involved the community. His experience in London Fields with squatters was not positive; he saw them as destructive, rather than to build on a squatted property and to the area. Firstly, they break into the property, by breaking the locks. They scavenge the area and take whatever they found into bits. Without using services provided for the community, and having a disregard for the area and property, the area is more hazardous and prone to dangers, such as fires. The building containing any architectural value is stripped, for

money, devaluing the property value, because of the lack of security. They may have a strong internal community, but it does not show their community to the rest of the area.

The squatters are problematic especially when there is a conflict between the landlords and the squatters, when there is a battle over land. The battle increases the destructiveness. They are better when the landlord is not interested in the property, and the squatters are left alone.

Margaret Thatcher's government policies, through legalisation and restriction of benefits have increased homelessness and squatting. However, another of Thatcher's policy, *right to buy*, allowed many artists, to buy their property at a relatively low price and many of them still live there now. Sustaining most of the artists and creating a stable community.

In terms of their ability to stay in a gentrified area, is very much a question of luck. It depends on a combination of the flow of investment of arts in the economic cycle, and the type of art is favoured at the time. During the time of the Right to Buy policy, those artists producing the 'fashionable' type of art was invested, meaning they could afford to buy their rented property. Most artists do not attempt to please their general public, they aimed audience is themselves. They do what they love, and if it happens that other people like their work; they are lucky to be able to afford to buy their property. Polarising the artists, as those with property are more stable (find out who live there now and who were there during the right to buy).

What is Right To Buy?

The Government is totally committed to the principle of the Right to Buy scheme, first introduced in 1980. It contributes to the Government's aim of a decent home for all, offering everyone the opportunity of a decent home and so promote social cohesion, well being and self-dependence. The Right to Buy Scheme has helped 1.6 million council tenants in England to realise their aspirations to own their homes. In many cases, it has encouraged more affluent tenants to remain in the neighbourhoods they have lived in for many years, helping to create stable, mixed income communities. This scheme enables local authority tenants of two years to buy their homes at a discount. It is targeted at well-established public tenants, with the discount increasing in rough proportion to the years they have been paying rent. Most Right To Buy sales are of local authority properties. Sales now exceed 60,000 a year. Since the introduction of RTB, in excess of £45 billion has been generated as a result of the sales of local authority dwellings. These funds have been used to repay debt and finance further capital expenditure. The Right To Buy scheme is open to virtually any secure tenant who can afford to buy with the exception of dwellings occupied in connection with their employment and housing specially provided for the elderly and (in certain cases) the disabled.

Source: ODPM, 2004, Introduction and background to Right to Buy

In New York, artists have, what is known as, *rights of tenure* (What is this? – contact Diana Browns, who used to own Diana Browns Gallery during the '80s). Making artists possible to rent an area for long term. In London, Renting is more of a problem.

Question and answers from Michael Cubey (SPACE)

1. How & why was SPACE set up?
 - Bridget Riley, set it up in 1968, as a bridge between artists and the public. Ultimately, SPACE is an arts and education charity.
 - SPACE office was first set up at St. Katharine's Docks, because it had vast amounts of large disused warehouses.
2. How are you funded?
 - Studios are privately funded, while £70,000 per annum is given by charity.
 - Regeneration money.
 - European sources: Objective II
3. What do the charity provide:
 - Studios (privately funded – SPACE are the landlords)
 - Training; exhibitions; and, public/community activities, which are funded by core funding, from The Arts Council, and project funding (such as fund raising).
4. How important is management of the SPACE studios? Who manage to buildings?
 - SPACE manages the studios.
5. Where are these buildings?
 - The history of SPACE studios is found on the handouts!!!
6. What is the explanation for artists grouping in East London?
 - Artists look for large warehouses (nowadays smaller plots) and cheap space.
 - Studio space is now small, but still look for industrial buildings, because of the large windows.
 - Simply, it was where the suitable buildings were found.
 - It is an established arts community.
7. Why choose these areas?

- There are 1400 people on the waiting list, for SPACE studios. People are asked for their practice and area preference, and amount they can afford.
- Depending to the 'economic geography'. Hackney now have a higher land-value, SPACE funding (through the Lottery has lessen, therefore are unable to compete for land).
- At present, the majority is found in East London, but is now looking further away from central London. SPACE is being approach by councils from boroughs in Forest Hill. They have buildings, but no artists: trying to attract an artist mix; but is hard to transport those on the waiting list to further a field. Michael Cubey believe, like Paris, artists will not live in the centre.
- Public transport infrastructure is very important, when choosing an area.
- People want stability!

8. Why move away from some areas?

- The buildings are leased, rather than freehold: no money to buy suitable buildings.
- Currently the areas surrounding London Lane are large, newly built residential blocks (including Barrettes East London) – in fact, some business use buildings have turned into residential. The area is slowly turning residential!
- SPACE has agreed not to fight developers, when renewing leases, so to gain a good reputation.

9. Has any government policies affected any decisions made/tackled by SPACE?

- UDP?
 - SPACE is stakeholders on artists needs; such as affordability, skills, and access.
- Right to Buy?
 - If people could not stay near their studios, they will look elsewhere.
- Government live/work policies?
- Government drive towards Urban Renaissance?
- National Lottery?
- Olympics?
 - All development is hauled, until a decision is made.
 - Funding is concentrated, not spread out across East London.
 - Huge local impact.
- Transport infrastructure?

- SPACE has a studio on Fish Island, which is on the boundary of the Olympic bid site (surrounded with factories – ideal site)
- Others?
 - Use class – Arts' workspaces are seen as business use (B1 – artist studios). I.e. it is easy to change the use; unstabalizing the artists.
 - Live/work spaces directly compete with single-use residential, which is economically less feasible.
 - Classing live/work is seen as the second, alternative option.

10. How do you think the provision of your buildings has affected the neighbourhood?

- Media attention, built around the artists, is certainly a factor in gentrification and displacement: not the only factor. The housing market was thought to be more important.

11. What have SPACE achieved? What's their future plans?

- The area, once seen as an important creative niche, was very much getting gentrified.

Transcript from Peter Snell interview, 16th December 2004, 1:40 to 2:50

Peter Snell was a local resident, near London Fields East; he set up the London Fields Users Group (LFUG) approximately ten years ago, in order to give a local voice about the recreational use in London Fields. The concern of the group had spread to areas surrounding London Field, especially to the east side of London Fields: the area was derelict and perceived as cut-off from the rest of Hackney. LFUG believed that a safe route between London Fields and Mare Street was essential to the liveliness of the east side of London Fields.

By 1997, only one corner of the site had two rows of houses, the rest of the site had been demolished. The application for Objective II Funding (funds given by the for economic development) by Hackney Council was to demolish the remaining houses and implement the 1995 UDP proposal to create a fenced-off, single story industrial area (see below).

E1 Development Sites

THE COUNCIL WILL SAFEGUARD THE SITES SHOWN ON THE PROPOSALS MAP FOR EMPLOYMENT GENERATING DEVELOPMENTS (CLASSES B1, B2 AND B8), AS DEFINED IN THE PROPOSALS SCHEDULE.

The sites shown on the proposals map are well suited to employment generating development, that is development for business (Class B1), industrial (Class B2) and storage/distribution (Class B8) purposes.

The safeguarding and development of such sites for employment uses will help to fulfil the accommodation demands of London businesses, provide accessible local jobs throughout Hackney, help to achieve the Council's wider employment objectives and contribute to the fulfilment of Strategic Advice and Guidance.

The proposals schedule indicates the Council's preferred type of development for each particular site, some of which are best suited to industrial development and others for business or storage/distribution developments or for a mixture of uses. Other proposed employment developments will be treated on their merits.

Hackney's aged building stock tends to constrain economic activity as firms are hindered by unsuitable premises and other related problems. New firms and firms wishing to relocate to Hackney are often forced to look elsewhere for premises. The provision of modern premises with good ancillary facilities will be an important factor in attracting new firms to Hackney and retaining existing firms.

The Council will monitor trends in usage of employment land in general, and of allocated sites in particular, during the Plan period.

Source: London Borough of Hackney (1995) Adopted UDP

UDP map showing employment zoning

Source: London Borough of Hackney (1995) Hackney UDP Proposals Map

Peter Snell believed that Hackney Council's proposal was out-of-date and have detrimental social impacts: in preparation to implement the UDP, people lost their homes through Compulsory Purchase; the east side of London Fields were perceived as cut-off and unsafe (Much of the area had been demolished, becoming the biggest traveller's site in East London); and the planned development of a fenced industrial zone would remove pedestrian movement between Mare Street to London Fields. An alternative scheme was proposed by the London Fields Users Group, attempting to obtain the Objective II money, thus preventing the council's scheme from being implemented.

There were two phases to the proposal; firstly, to build on the land, which was already demolished; secondly, to prepare and build on the land currently being squatted. It was attempted to make the whole site into a housing co-operative; due to lack of political support, only phase two had become a co-op. The idea of the co-op was to be self managed and prioritised those who could contribute to the cultural industries in Hackney: not to the squatters who occupied in the area. It is hoped that the co-op would be self-sustaining, but it is politically unpopular, as historically, there are management problems and them become over-taken by a big Housing Association, loosing its distinctiveness.

The physical mass of the scheme is to extend the number of live/work units in the area, one unit was found under the arches. This provided both economic and social benefits, by regenerating jobs in the area and creating a live/work community.

It was agreed that live/work space were both economically and socially viable to the area, however, there were serious concerns about the ease to create a change of use to a single land use, which would be enforced through planning law. Peter Snell believed it is not the fault of the policy, but of the management of the co-operative and council, past examples can be see in Hoxton and Clarksenwell.

The main objective of the alternative bid was to improve safety by reintroducing people living and working in the area. In order to attract these people, rent must remain below the market level; this is why co-operatives were set up. The creative industry (meaning those working in the medium of media, printing, internet, and fine art) was the target group; these people like the live/work situation and live in a 'haphazard' working environment, clustering of these spaces would make better networking possibilities and an active community. Selling the proposal as a culture quarter, promoting a culture renaissance, would make use of its close proximity to the large amounts of ACME and SPACE studios. Squatters were introduced as a part of the creative class, but in truth only a small fraction was involved in the creative industry.

"London Fields East has long been home to enterprise and individuals as diverse as ceramicists and photographers, car mechanics and musicians, foundries and academics, sculptors and animators, painters and hat makers" (The London Fields Renewal Partnership, _____, *The Art Of Hackney – The London Fields Renewal Partnership – Developing The Arts Quarter In London Fields East*, The London Fields Renewal Partnership, p 6).

The squatters were an obstacle when adopting the alternative plan, as they were transient and only resided in the area at certain periods in the year. In fact, he understood that they made the area more cut-off and providing a lack of safety. The squatters showed little concerned, if any, about Hackney Council's proposal. The squatters did not want to enter into any formal agreement: they did not want any form of licensed use. In the alternative plan, squatters wasn't forced out, but given the chance to be included, if they can adapt to the live/work ethos; they did indirectly benefit the community by interacting and finding jobs within the locality, moving them out would not be entirely beneficial to the community.

During 1997, there were internal dispute within the Labour Hackney council, which led to a hung council. The hung council was badly managed. When Labour split, the other groups were prepared to back it: It was the bad political situation, not the economics viability, which was used to convince the alternative bid should be adopted.

As a part of the newly adopted proposal, the squatters and Hackney council had to entered into an agreement. If squatters give up their occupied dwellings to the council and voluntary enter for licensing, the council would drop its eviction and demolition action. Nine months later the squatters, who were willing to negotiate, removed the unsolicited squatters, owned all the property along London Lane and Ellingfort Road and organised a licence.

London Lane was built first then Ellingfort Road; the units were geared for single person use (target young singles, and not families). Despite the co-operative still existing, there are huge numbers of private housing being built. With the trend of increased population in Hackney, it increasingly becoming socially and economically polarised. This is catalysis in such wards as Queensbridge. These wards contain large amounts of modern council houses, which are bought under the Right To Buy policy: both extremes are living juxtaposed to each other. A change in population profile in London Lane and Ellingfort Road may be due to trends in Hackney as well as the policy.

Those involved with the cultural industry were in short-term lease. When the finical viability of the area improves, there are losses to the concessionary rate of he studio; it is more difficult now in arguing the case of it being the centre of cultural industries. But Peter Snell believed that the policy stabilised the cultural industry community and led it to grow up.

Ironically, despite promoting the site as a cultural quarter, a majority of those in the cultural industry did not want to be involved with the alternative plan. ACME and other galleries in the site were already settled in live/work studios, but had since moved out, as the redevelopment proposal would provide less space.

	Hackney Council proposal	London Fields Users Group proposal
The site	Demolish remaining buildings	Reuse buildings
Aim	Industrial area	Cultural renaissance
Land use	Industrial	Live/work space
Safety	Fencing and closing streets	Natural surveillance
Economic impact	Industries	Work space provision
Social impact	Segregation	Creation of a community
Tenure	Leasehold	Co-operative housing
Squatters involvement	Moved out	To be included in the co-operative

Table summarising both Hackney council and London Fields Users Group proposal for Objective II

Other involvements:

URBED was asked to be involved because they were had already used the idea of cultural renaissance in Hulme, Manchester. However, the new, growing community had their own idea of cultural renaissance and believed that URBED was not listening to the community: URBED involvement was limited.

Michael Edward's involvement was later into the policy making, by then Peter Snell had become a Labour councillor and moved on to different projects.

Data extracted from: Howes E. (1983) Research in Hackney - 1981 census for hackney: ward profiles. Research and Intelligence section, London Borough of Hackney

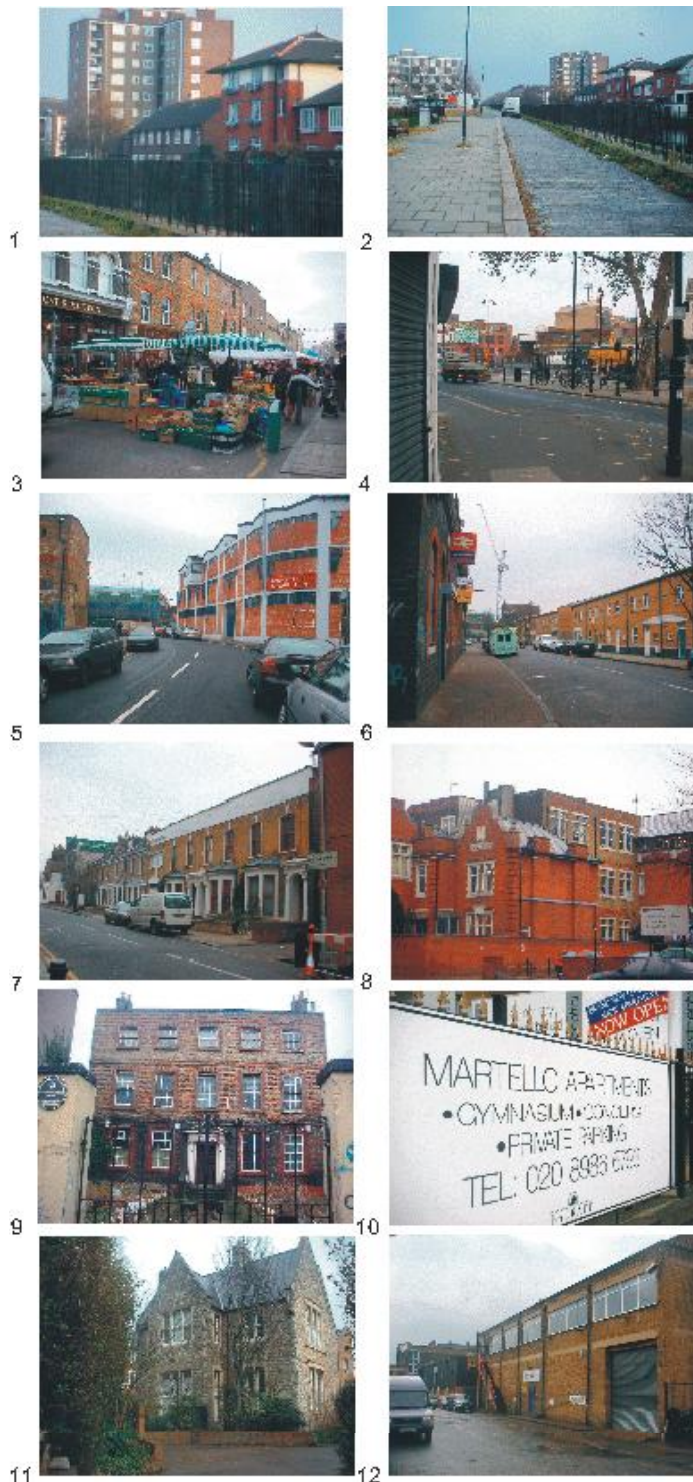
Tenure of household	owner-occupied	Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981	Hackney 1991	Queensbridge 1991	Hackney 2001	Queensbridge 2001
	council	17	10	27	17	33	29
	housing association	58	77	48	65	31	39
	renting w/ business/employment	7	4	11	11	21	21
	% of owner-occupiers whose property is leasehold	19	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	% of household space vacant	8	7	n/a	n/a	3	3
Economic activity	total persons of working age	Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981	Hackney 1991	Queensbridge 1991	Hackney 2001	Queensbridge 2001
	% economically active	109344	5123			146863	7599
		80	79			62	60
Social economic groups	(% of residents in employment in SEG)	Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981				
	professional	2	1				
	employers and managers	8	8				
	non-manual	34	29				
	foremen and skilled manual	22	24				
	semi-skilled manual	23	23				
	other	10	14				
total	100	100					
Employment by industry	(% of residents aged 16 and over in employment)	Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981	Hackney 1991	Queensbridge 1991	Hackney 2001	Queensbridge 2001
	agriculture	0	0			n/a	n/a
	energy and water	1.6	1.5			n/a	n/a
	manufacturing	21.5	15.9			7.820664933	7.769028871
	construction	4.55	7.1			n/a	n/a
	distribution and catering	17.8	22.15			n/a	n/a
	transport	10.1	9.25			6.229015727	6.351790037
other	42.75	42.75			56.66666667	56.3956277	
Residents with degrees (%)		Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981	Hackney 1991	Queensbridge 1991	Hackney 2001	Queensbridge 2001
		6	3	33	30	42	39
country of birth		Hackney 1981	Queensbridge 1981	Hackney 1991	Queensbridge 1991	Hackney 2001	Queensbridge 2001
	White	74.1	n/a	66.47081351	63.32879609	59.4	58.5
	of which White Irish	3.4	n/a	n/a	n/a	3.3	3
	Mixed	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4.2	5
	Asian or Asian British	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.6	5.5
	Indian	1.7	n/a	3.476279094	1.171748445	3.8	1.6
	Pakistani	0.5	n/a	0.957755715	0.464175083	1.1	0.5
	Bangladeshi	0.6	n/a	1.810688304	1.972129144	2.9	3
	Other Asian	n/a	n/a	1.399118354	1.452836348	0.8	0.4
	Black or Black British	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	24.7	27.2
	Caribbean	n/a	n/a	11.25142584	16.56788286	10.3	12.3
	African	1.6	n/a	6.73243213	7.123970542	12	11.9
	Other Black	n/a	n/a	3.976671661	4.369194114	2.4	3
	Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	n/a	n/a	2.858373654	1.938131137	3.2	3.8

Statistics on performance of London planning departments

Publication		London Boroughs	total decision	Percentage granted	% in 8 weeks	Borough ranking
Issue No 1 March 1992	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Issue No 2 June 1992	Year ending 31 March 1992	Hackney		86	29 n/a	
		London boroughs average		76.0625	46.21875	
	January-March 1992	Hackney		87	19	
		London boroughs average		80.37931034	50.31034483	
Issue No 3 September 1992	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Issue No 4 December 1992	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Issue No 5 March 1993	Year ending 30 June 1992	Hackney	949	86	31 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1678.375	79.71875	49.875	
	April - June 1992	Hackney	159	86	36	
		London boroughs average	416.28125	82.0625	53.6875	
Issue No 6 June 1993	Year ending 30 September 1992	Hackney	869	86	29 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1572.30303	80.93939394	51.78787879	
	July-September 1992	Hackney	215	88	41	
		London boroughs average	418.266667	83.06666667	54.5	
Issue No 7 September 1993	Year ending 31 December 1992	Hackney	798	88	33 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1545.939394	81.53	53.18181818	
	October-December 1992	Hackney	219	91	36	
		London boroughs average	390.9354839	79.77419355	55.48387097	
Issue No 8 December 1993	Year ending 30 June 1993	Hackney	769	90	37 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1527.454545	82.54545455	55.27272727	
	April-June 1993	Hackney	179	88	41	
		London boroughs average	411.5151515	83.66666667	57.78787879	
Issue No 9 March 1994	Year ending 30 September 1993	Hackney	794	98	39 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1553.848485	83.15151515	56.48484848	
	July-September 1993	Hackney	240	86	47	
		London boroughs average	419.0606061	83.75757576	58.84848485	
Issue No 10 June 1994	Year ending 31 December 1993	Hackney	817	88	43 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1554.411765	83.97058824	58.11764706	
	October-December 1993	Hackney	242	87	51	
		London boroughs average	403.2058824	84.88235294	59.23529412	
Issue No 11 October 1994	Year ending 31 March 1994	Hackney	905	87	48 n/a	
		London boroughs average	1610.617647	84.70588235	60	
	January-March 1994	Hackney	245	88	52	
		London boroughs average	399.4705882	81.05882353	66.14705882	
Issue No 12 January 1995	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	Hackney	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	n/a	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Issue No 13 April 1995	Year ending 31 December 1994	Hackney		87	51 n/a	
		London boroughs average		85.61764706	60.94117647	
	October-December 1994	Hackney		85	60	
		London boroughs average		86.6875	61.4516129	
Issue No 14 July 1995	Year ending 31 March 1995	Hackney		86	52 n/a	
		London boroughs average		85.26470588	60.52941176	
	January-March 1995	Hackney		83	56	
		London boroughs average		85.14705882	58	
Issue No 15 October 1995*	Year ending 30 June 1995	Hackney		85	55 n/a	
		London boroughs average		90.38235294	60.32352941	
	April-June 1995	Hackney	n/a	n/a		
		London boroughs average		85.6875	62.15625	
Issue No 16 January 1996	Year ending 31 September 1995	Hackney		85	58 n/a	
		London boroughs average		85.41176471	61.08823529	
	July-September 1995	Hackney		88	59	
		London boroughs average		82.17647059	58.32352941	
Issue No 17 April 1996*	Year ending 31 December 1995	Hackney		85	57 n/a	
		London boroughs average		84.88235294	60.47058824	
	October-December 1995	Hackney		84	55	
		London boroughs average		83.63636364	58.93939394	
Issue No 18 July 1996	Year ending 31 March 1996	Hackney		86	52 30/32	
		London boroughs average		84.55882353	59.32352941	
	January-March 1996	Hackney		85	43	
		London boroughs average		83.03125	57.53125	
Issue 19 October 1996*	Year ending 30 June 1996	Hackney		85	51 30/33	
		London boroughs average		84.14705882	59.26470588	
	April-June 1996	Hackney		83	49	
		London boroughs average		84	61.66666667	
Issue 20 January 1997*	Year ending 30 September 1996	Hackney		85	46 n/a	
		London boroughs average		83.94117647	58.70588235	
	July-September 1996	Hackney		90	35	
		London boroughs average		83.87878788	59.36363636	
Issue 21 April 1997*	Year ending 31 December 1996	Hackney		85	44 n/a	
		London boroughs average		79	58.85294118	
	October-December 1996	Hackney		84	50	
		London boroughs average		83.42424242	58.21212121 n/a	
Issue 22 July 1997*	Year ending 31 March 1997	Hackney		85	43	
		London boroughs average		84.38235294	59.08823529	
	January-March 1997	Hackney		84	39	
		London boroughs average		84.14705882	56.32352941	
Issue 23 October 1997	Year ending 30 June 1997	Hackney		84	47 n/a	
		London boroughs average		84.09090909	58.06060606	
	April-June 1997	Hackney		80	58	
		London boroughs average		90.93103448	58.31034483	
Issue 24 January 1998	Year ending 30 September 1997	Hackney		81	59	
		London boroughs average		84.64705882	58.52941176 n/a	
	July-September 1997	Hackney		79	71	
		London boroughs average		85.5	57.94117647	
Issue 25 April 1998	Year ending 31 Decemetr 1997	Hackney		82	62 n/a	
		London boroughs average		84.82352941	57.67647059	
	October-December 1997	Hackney		87	68	
		London boroughs average		84.41176471	57.26470588	
Issue 26 July 1998	Year ending 31 March 1998	Hackney		81	62 n/a	
		London boroughs average		84.76470588	57.70588235	
	January-March 1998	Hackney		80	42	
		London boroughs average		83.57575758	55.93939394	

Issue 27 October 1998	Year ending 30 June 1998	Hackney	83	58 n/a
		London boroughs average	84.78787879	57
	April-June 1998	Hackney	88	38
Issue 28 January 1999	Year ending 30 September 1998	London boroughs average	84.96969697	57.84848485
		Hackney	83	53 n/a
	July-September 1998	London boroughs average	84.24242424	57.03030303
Issue 29 April 1999	Year ending 31 Decemebr 1998	Hackney	78	60
		London boroughs average	81.90625	55.9375
	October-December 1998	Hackney	82	51 n/a
Issue 30 July 1999	Year ending 31 March 1999	London boroughs average	84.06060606	57.36363636
		Hackney	81	61
	January-March 1999	London boroughs average	83.24242424	58.51515152
Issue 31 October 1999	Year ending 30 June 1999	Hackney	82	55 n/a
		London boroughs average	83.93939394	57.81818182
	April-June 1999	Hackney	82	59
Issue 32 Jan/Mar 2000*	Year ending 30 Sept 1999	London boroughs average	83.71875	58.625
		Hackney	81	61 n/a
	July-September 1999	London boroughs average	84.03030303	58.09090909
Issue 33 Apr/June 2000	Year ending 31 December 1999	Hackney	80	66
		London boroughs average	81.80645161	60.84516129
	October-December 1999	Hackney	81	61 n/a
Issue 34 July/Sept 2000	Year ending 31 March 2000	London boroughs average	84.12121212	58.24242424
		Hackney	78	59
	January-March 2000	London boroughs average	84.6	57.96666667
Issue 35 Oct/Dec 2000	Year ending 30 June 2000	Hackney	81	59 n/a
		London boroughs average	84.12121212	58.12121212
	April-June 2000	Hackney	81	37
Issue 36 Jan/Mar 2001*	Year ending 30 September 2000	London boroughs average	83.29032258	56.51612903
		Hackney	76	51 n/a
	July-September 2000	Hackney	83.5	57.625
Issue 37 April/June 2001*	Year ending 31 December 2000	London boroughs average	82.83870968	54.77419355
		Hackney	74	41 n/a
	October-December 2000	London boroughs average	83.21875	56.96875
Issue 38 July/Sept 2001	Year ending 31 March 2001	Hackney	75	40
		London boroughs average	82.09677419	57.25806452
	January-March 2001	Hackney	74	37 30/33
Issue 39 Oct/Dec 2001	Year ending 30 June 2001	London boroughs average	82.65625	56.65625
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	April-June 2001	London boroughs average	82.58064516	56.16129032
Issue 40 Jan/March 2002*	Year ending 30 September 2001	Hackney	73	37 n/a
		London boroughs average	82.1875	56.96875
	July-September 2001	Hackney	n/a	n/a
Issue 41 April/June 2002*	Year ending 31 December 2001	London boroughs average	81.93548387	57.83870968
		Hackney	75	40 n/a
	October-December 2001	London boroughs average	81.9375	57.21875
Issue 42 July/Sept 2002	Year ending 30 June 2002	Hackney	n/a	n/a
		London boroughs average	82.19354839	58.29032259
	April-June 2002	Hackney	n/a	n/a
Issue 43 Oct/Dec 2002	Year ending 30 September 2002	London boroughs average	82.1875	57.90625
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	July-September 2002	London boroughs average	81.65625	61.0625
Issue 44 Jan/March 2003	Year ending 31 March 2002	Hackney	81.71875	57.5625 n/a
		London boroughs average	n/a	n/a
	January-March 2002	Hackney	81.03125	59.96875
Issue 45 April/June 2003	Year ending 30 June 2002	London boroughs average	81.34375	60.71875
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	October-December 2002	London boroughs average	80.28125	61.15625
Issue 46 July/Sept 2003	Year ending 31 March 2003	Hackney	n/a	n/a
		London boroughs average	80.84375	62
	January-March 2003	Hackney	n/a	n/a
Issue 47 Oct/Dec 2003	Year ending 30 June 2003	London boroughs average	80.375	63.40625
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	April-June 2003	London boroughs average	80.46875	61.21875
Issue 48 Jan/March 2004	Year ending 30 September 2003	Hackney	n/a	n/a
		London boroughs average	80.28125	65.03125
	July-September 2003	Hackney	n/a	n/a
Issue 49 April/June 2004	Year ending 31 December 2002	London boroughs average	79.9375	63.25
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	October-December 2002	London boroughs average	78.65625	63.34375
Issue 50 July/Sept 2004	Year ending 30 June 2003	Hackney	69	23 n/a
		London boroughs average	79.33333333	62.78787879
	April-June 2003	Hackney	69	23
Issue 51 Oct/Dec 2004	Year ending 31 March 2004	London boroughs average	78.90909091	62.75757576
		Hackney	66	26 n/a
	January-March 2004	London boroughs average	78.45454545	62.81818182
Issue 52 Jan/March 2005*	Year ending 30 September 2004	Hackney	63	29
		London boroughs average	76.42424242	62.42424242
	July-September 2004	Hackney	n/a	n/a
Issue 53 April/June 2005	Year ending 31 December 2004	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a
		Hackney	n/a	n/a
	October-December 2004	London boroughs average	n/a	n/a
Issue 54 July/Sept 2005	Year ending 30 June 2004	Hackney	63	36 n/a
		London boroughs average	76.90909091	68.09090909
	April-June 2004	Hackney	63 n/a	n/a
Issue 55 Oct/Dec 2005	Year ending 30 September 2004	London boroughs average	75.53125	n/a
		Hackney	61	39 n/a
	October-December 2004	London boroughs average	76.3030303	69.57575758
Issue 56 Jan/March 2006	Year ending 31 March 2005	Hackney	56	43
		London boroughs average	75.90909091	73.06060606
	January-March 2005	Hackney	59	44 n/a
Issue 57 April/June 2006	Year ending 30 June 2005	London boroughs average	73.36363636	65.87878788
		Hackney	57	47
	October-December 2005	London boroughs average	75.375	75.71875
Issue 58 July/Sept 2006	Year ending 31 March 2006	Hackney	60	46 n/a
		London boroughs average	75.66666667	74.60606061
	January-March 2006	Hackney	63	55
Issue 59 Oct/Dec 2006	Year ending 30 June 2006	London boroughs average	75.4375	76.15625
		Hackney	59	48 n/a
	October-December 2006	London boroughs average	75.63636364	76.39393939
Issue 60 Jan/March 2007	Year ending 30 September 2006	Hackney	n/a	n/a
		London boroughs average	75.78125	78.25
	July-September 2006	London boroughs average		

* Denoted by Planning in London as incomplete data



Photographs of London
study area:

- 1- Residential housing
- 2- Regents canal not well utilised
- 3- Broadway Market is a tourist destination
- 4- The Triangle
- 5- New industrial space
- 6- London Fields station surrounded by new housing
- 7- Live/work buildings on London Lane
- 8- London College of Fashion in Hackney
- 9- Refugee housing
- 10- New luxury apartments on sale next to live/work co-operatives
- 11- Old mansion near London Fields
- 12- Industrial building

Example of e-mail sent asking for an interview for the New York case study

From: Aaron <[REDACTED]>
To: <[REDACTED]>
Date: Sat Jan 15, 2005 11:56:02 AM GMT
Subject: Research on the Gentrification of Lower East Side

Dear Peter Marcuse,

My name is Aaron Mo. I am currently writing my Masters dissertation at the Bartlett School of Planning, at University College London. I am writing about the involvement, and effect, of the 'creative class' during gentrification. Below is my hypothesis:

Without financial and governmental support, it is virtually impossible to safeguard the 'creative class' from gentrification. Artists are forced to move to other areas where there are disused industrial buildings - these buildings moved out of the city centre, during the decentralization of the manufacturing sector: artists are starting to move to the suburbs, bringing their urban culture with them. The suburbs are starting to become urbanised, leading to the death of the suburbs! Furthermore, Gentrification in New York is more advanced than in London - about ten years ahead. Therefore, if I look at the art movement, especially from the Lower East Side to Williamsburg, I should be able to speculate the trend in Hackney (At the moment, it looks like it will be towards Forest Hill, East London suburbs).

In order to prove my hypothesis, I will be going to New York, on Wednesday, in order to research on the effects of Gentrification on the Lower East Side.

I have read brief documents on your career and believe an interview with you would be very useful in my research. If possible, I would like to arrange an interview with you, during my stay in New York 19th January to 26th January.

Thank you for your time and hopefully we could meet up, next week.

Yours sincerely,

Aaron Mo, B.Sc. (Hons.), TC/P Dip.

Summary of interview with David Favaloro – Research Assistant in Lower East Side Tenement Museum– 21st January 2005 (12pm)

There is a tension between long time residents and local arts groups.

Artists were attracted to the LES because of cheap rent! But also the historical and cultural association of the neighbourhood.

The image the artists created, was co-opted and used as a marketing tool by the Real Estate, as a means to sell the neighbourhood.

Location is very important!! Close to downtown Manhattan and mid-town.

Artists were used as a tool to neutralise an area.

Movement of Artists:

- 1st - Cheap rent
- 2nd - Art 'scene' developed (by Real Estate market co-opting the ideas)

Indigenous residents, e.g. Puerto Ricans, also expressed their culture by means of art (communication of buildings to pedestrians).

Community gardens – guerrilla art movement.

These forms of 'public art' express political ideas.

Hispanic population is the fastest decreasing population in the LES (this group was also the most expressive in 'public art' against gentrification) [e-mail him asking for the displacement rates].

1980s:

- Large amount of Abandonment.
- Large amount of Squatters and junkies.
- Rate of gentrification has spread, depending on time and geography (and type of profile).
- Definite displacement to white middle class, spreading from East Village, downwards.
- Natural population movement is possible.
- The 'urban living' and culture began to re-emerge, attracting those who were taken into that lifestyle.
- Artists moved to East Village (north west), especially around Tompkins Square Park.

Traditionally home to Hippy and Yippies (still cheap).

History of Radicalism -

- Landlords did not want to meet the building codes (placed in 1935), abandonment was a cheaper option. No demand for their building (lack of immigrants moving in and people wanting to move out), therefore was not feasible.

1990s:

- Recovery of the economy of the 1990s.
- Booming service sector, therefore, people needed a place to live.
- The neighbourhood is still in a **human scale**.
- History of commercial heart of the city, e.g. the discount markets, and boutiques, in Orchard Street.

Now:

- Most galleries has gone
- South Orchard Street, Restaurants and warehouses...
- North Orchard Street, clothing and jewellery (fashion)

Summary of interview with Lance Freeman – Assistant Professor in the Urban Planning program at Columbia University– 21st January 2005 (2.30pm)

LES:

- High immigrant rate.
- Scattered manufacturing, but mainly small, clothing manufacturing.

1980s economy started to rebound. Real Estate was looking for places to invest, the location was attractive.

Affordable housing (spread out) was built under local pressure.

Lower East Side was an untapped market in Manhattan.

Cultural change meant re-urbanisation.

- Grow out of counter-culture of the 1960s
- They calm down but still wanted to live in that diverse life

SoHo was no longer that affordable.

Artists are associated as the first gentry of gentrification of 'marginal neighbourhoods'.

Then students, then bankers. AHOP was not popular because of the association...

Artists tend not to have families, therefore could live in areas with poor family building stock, infrastructure, and amenities (those with families tend to move away). Flexible with space...

When there is clear evidence of the area gentrifying, the service is better. When the gentry are better (higher status) they are more able to push the government for better services.

Better service = increased land value (leading to displacement)

Co-ops = people inside the building are given the opportunity to buy their building at a subsidised rate. Rent regulation (since WWII) should prevent displacement, even if the resident decide not to buy into the co-op.

- If a tenant moves out, the landlord could raise the rent.

Arson, in the 1970s and 1980s, by landlords was so that they could collect insurance. The building was not profitable; therefore it was seen as an easy way out. It is not directly linked to forcing residents out...

Government have enacted policies to prevent abandonment, but a healthy economy would ultimately get landlords to keep investing on the property.

Trendy Restaurants are opening up on the Lower East Side.

Housing stock in the Lower East Side is not attractive, as it was initially built for working class and poor people. In contrast, parts of Harlem have nice building stock.

The potential for gentrification on the Lower East Side, will not be like Park Slope, because of the tenements.

There are limits on how much the Lower East Side can change because of the housing stock being initially built to working-class, poor people.

The physical appearance of the buildings is one factor of life style (and type profile) moving into certain areas.

Some manufacturing on Lower East Side (mainly on the East Village)

1990s- American economy was slowing down; so was gentrification. Picked up again in the late-90s, when the economy started to rebound.

Williamsburg

- Former industrial area.
- Rezoning in NYC from manufacturing to residential (housing shortage). City do not rezone unless asked to.

Battle from artists and yuppies for the same physical space.

Rent regulation on residential, but not on industrial nor commercial.

L-line:

- Gentrification is following the L-line (eastwards)
- Bushwick = Suburb-esq. Low density but still in NYC.

Summary of interview with Joseph Cunin – Executive Director of Historic Orchard Street Lower East Side – 24th January 2005 (3pm)

“Real Estate drives everything in the city”

1970s

- People started to move east of the Bowery or Broadway.
- East Village = Between 14th and Houston. “East Village is kind of like a Real Estate term... because the Lower East Side connotated tenements, slums, immigrants, sweatshops”
- East Village = Art driven renaissance area (not intentional).
- The land was cheap and had plenty of space. People exhibited work, only to other artists, just because there was no one else around. People stated to be aware (artists made themselves known).
- SoHo had big warehouse loft spaces (former industrial areas).
- LES was seen as a natural progression (over-spill), but dangerous area, much more run-down.
- “East Village, now is not the heart-bed of art and creativity it once was... They moved to Williamsburg, where things are much cheaper...”
- Building stock, around LES, is 1890s small tenements (narrow and high).
- Essentially, the location was good, and cheap, and had little restrictions of zoning. People “made do” with the lack of space.
- The most expensive type of housing in Manhattan are lofts.
- Projects are found to the east of LES.
- 1960s were dangerous: Clinton Street was the centre of drug trafficking.
- NY was bankrupt in 1872... riots and old cities was not seen as the future of living... City services had cut backs.

1980s

- Explosion of creativity
- Abandonment, the insurance money... rent regulation...to get the money
- Garden spaces = “Green gorillas”. Disinvestment and dissatisfaction was expressed through art.
- Disinvestment was selective (depending on how large the voice is) LES was not very good...

- Economy got better: more jobs; better neighbourhoods got better; the city got more tax revenues; services got better. Still LES was still not a place to move to by choice.
- Residence of LES was not happy: brought a community spirit? 'Public art' was used to claim territory and communicate neighbourhood feelings. 'Grassroots' feeling...

1990s

- Mayor Giuliani was tough on crime. Made the neighbourhood safe, therefore brought people in. He held the police accountable, every precinct commander was held to account... At time very heavy-handed... sense of security... Drove out squatters, leading to riots with no negotiation and 'rehabilitated' the park.
- Landlords may see a chance of getting better tenants... Some areas are left vacant so that blocks could be rebuilt/rehab...
- Buildings that look run-down are still rent regulated or stabilized. Buildings that was vacant for a long-time are now fixed-up...
- Attract developers, building market rate housing...
- Spillover – gentrification is still happening in neighbouring areas; LES was comparably cheap, thus bringing in ...

Artists, and their associates, were defiantly seen as the pioneers. They begin the thinking process of why should they move there... Amenities and services improve and ...

Artists are catalysts to change the character of an area.

Artists see potential and work with the 'potential' that they see. For example, Green gorillas: changing the character...

The Lower East Side is very popular with musicians.

A lot of basement practice spaces. The unit space is a good size, if you have the whole basement. Retail stores tends to be found above the studios; there is a landlord agreement to use the space, as long as residence are not disturbed (Sound insulation)... illegal conversions of space (tend not fit with the building regulation). At times the rehearsal space turns into bars (that's when safety issues come into play – maybe that's why so many studios are not turned into bars – in this case, the city is more strict).

There is still a lack of schools...

Red Hook – artists are more willing to move out of the centre of activities, but at the same they are not willing to move out to places like Long Island. Has one of the largest concentrations of public housing in the city, and is a former industrial area.

Commercial area of Lower East Side

- “East Village, now is not the heart-bed of art and creativity it once was... They moved to Williamsburg, where things are much cheaper...”
- “The garment area in China Town is defiantly on the way out” because garments are produced much cheaper in other areas (countries).
- (Garment district) Garment factory between (top floor buildings) Orchard and Grand.
- All is left are high-end stuff, and thing that have to be produced quickly.
- The building are of a good space for studios/lofts. Areas such as SoHo and TriBeCa have reached its loft capacity, therefore these garment factories are ‘skipping’ a wave of gentrification, and instantly turning into lofts. The pressure for space is so intense.

Developers are buying buildings and are ripping them out, building fancy million dollars apartments.

Cluster of music venues (and galleries) on the Bowery and **north of Lower East Side**. The area is a thriving music venue...

The east is still relatively cheap.

Peoples’ movement are driven by Real Estate!

Summary of interview with Peter Marcuse – 26th January 2005 (10am)

Lower East side 1970s

- Market phenomenon (rather than policy), which brought the creative movement into LES.
- The land was so cheap and well located.
- Abandonment = broken window effect. Could have happened anywhere: coincidental.
- Subway connection is not very good, despite its location.
- The housing stock (mainly projects) by the waterfront was not suitable.

Waterfront development

- Away from adequate subway connections.
- Projects found at LES.

Projects

- Public housing is not in the real estate market.
- [Look for real estate values – New York Real Estate Board]

Lower East Side 1980s

- Neo-expressionist, and New Wave Punk movement into East Village (8th Street).
- Association and agglomeration of ideologies. I.e. benefit from being near each other. The Williamsburg scene would be a modern day example.
- Agglomeration started by word of mouth and classified ads – developers, rather than Media.
- Low rental price.

Lower East Side from 1984

- End of the new art movement in the Lower East Side.
- Recession hit New York –
- Abandonment due to developers wanting a 'rent gap'.
- At times, more money is obtained if landlords abandon their buildings (fixing tenements was mandatory at the time).
- Abandonment, lower market value, which attracts those who could not afford to pay much rent.

1990s

- Arts movement out of LES. Successful ones moved to SoHo, Greenwich Village, etc.; less successful artists moved to the outer boroughs.
- There is a difference between gallery and artists preferred location.
- An increasing amount of musicians dominating the area.

Creative class

- There seems to be a relationship between building stock unit size and type of creative media (e.g. artists, fashion, musicians). I.e. they have different requirements, making them more (or less) adaptable to a certain area.
- LES tenements are narrow, however the basement are much bigger and have less competition... perfect for recording studio space.
- Artists need large space and a lot of natural lighting.
- Jewellery and clothing shops would prefer ground level units, so to attract passing, potential customers (impulse buying).
- Artists are in direct competition (for the same unit space) with yuppies; Fashion with cafes; Recording studios with bars (bars are much more adaptable). Priced out...
- Well know sequence in gentrification (poor to art to rich).
- Once artists are successful, they want to move to the cluster of established 'successful artists' community.

Hackney

- People are starting to move away from clusters of artists. Travelling and communication (i.e. internet) is improving.
- Movement towards the suburbs.
- Space Studio in Lea Valley and Forest Hill: far away from public transport. They are clusters of (___ artists in a block)... [Is it a big enough cluster to produce bars etc?]
- Arts Council England has invested in Kent (live/work)
- [Are the requirements between solely studio, and live/work different?]
- [Studio space location may not be so important (and physical configuration may not so important)]
- Living, the location may be more important.

Red Hook and Bushwick (Brooklyn)

- Artists are starting to live in these areas.

- Association and agglomeration of ideologies. I.e. benefit from being near each other. The Williamsburg scene would be a modern day example. LES was an example...
 - Lack of galleries (they are still found in Williamsburg).
 - Galleries need to be close to public transport to attract visitors (it is essentially commercial space).
 - 3 different set of requirements for: galleries; studios; and artists' residence.
 - [Don't forget different type of studios and creative activity]
 - [Need more interviews with creative class]
 - Realistically, their choices are limited to what they can afford, and family situation, and physical configuration, and location. Priority differs
 - A lot of AIR studios in Red Hook; (tenants – not owners - of) commercial studios, where artists reside there and sell their artwork.
 - Arts buyers know the routine of going to a gallery, rather than going to an AIR building.
 - The purpose is to show that they are living there, communicating (between buildings) to other artists to live there or ...

Williamsburg

- Cluster of AIRs are near the waterfront.
- The Waterfront will be rezoned to commercial and residential (loft legalisation).
- Artist will be in direct competition, again being forced out.
- Land value is rising.

Creative Class

- Stockbrokers are generally included as a part of the creative class.
- [Must define what I mean 'creative class']
- [Do not include 'Knowledge workers' or any well paid white collar workers]
- [Must distinguish between prosperous and poor artists – it dictates where they move to]

The status of the Creative Class

- Higher than those living in projects.
- Therefore have a much bigger 'voice' and maybe able to demand more infrastructure and amenities.
- The shift from Lower working class to creative class can be seen as an indicator of change in status profile.

- Government does not take the initiative in upgrading an area, when an artist move in.
- In New York, it is the question of artists adding to the community pressures of improvement. Bottom-up policy.

Tompkins Square Park

- Is at the next stage of gentrification, where Stockbrokers move in.
- That is when you get an affirmative upgrading of city policy.
- Infrastructure upgrade only follows if there are clear signs of guaranteed gentrification (no gambling on public money).

Pioneers of gentrification

- Students and artists as first wave pioneers
- M. Rose studied this in Toronto.

Hackney

- Immigration history
- Lack of infrastructure means it inaccessible, but it is close to very affluent areas (just like LES).
- East London Line extension, now massive building speculation.
- Infrastructure improvement is such a drive towards displacement.
- Immigrants are pushed towards Hackney Wick.
- Barrets homes are selling to area as the 'creative part of London', ironically; they are pushing out the creative community to Hackney Wick, or the suburbs.
- The area is now seen as 'safe' enough to gamble.

Gentrification without the creative class as the pioneers

- Harlem: price and the location
- Cultural tourism (the cultural capital is not use in Harlem)
- Good residential housing stock

Arts

- The use of arts is a good marketing device.
- Its not essential to use art in gentrification
- Stockbrokers do not want to live next to painters, but would rather live with them then poor Hispanics. Status.

East Village

- Marketing tool, sold as an overspill from the Village.

Politics

- Until gentrification is well advance.
- Politics is reactive rather than initiatory.
- Reacts to demand made and the power of those making the demand.
- The more powerful the demand, the reaction by the government.
- Once a certain stage is reached (i.e. the incoming of stockbrokers) then the government moves to aid the process...

Lower East Side

- Hotel at Rivington Street – allowed, rather than planned, this massive glass building into LES.

Williamsburg

- Advance stage? It is going through re-zoning...
- Unique, because there is a large community of Orthodox Jews. Strong political connected community – voice is very loud.
- Secondary displacement is occurring at the waterfront
- It is more advance than Lower East Side –
 - Maybe due to the housing units (tenements are small)
 - Gentrification of Williamsburg may not be of the stockbroker type – question of connectivity.
 - Lower East Side housing stock has now changes (2 tier units worth \$2 million). More space, but still not suitable for artists (not direct competition)
 - Arts is not used in the gentrification of Lower East Side (music still continues)
 - LES gentrification is now at a stage of Harlem, where culture is not needed to promote/market...
 - Strong enough to skip a stage (maybe because of New York's dynamic economy)

Chinatown

- Fabric warehouse are better for artists. They are of large units and have large windows.

- Strong community: more resistance to displacement.
- [What will happen to these warehouse???

[How does the rate of succession, between different arts community, differ?]

[What creative firms have moved to LES?] Software engineers and big architect firms are a sign of LES becoming desirable to the (office-based) creative industries... a change in creative structure.

E-mail and response from Mitchell Moss

From: [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Research on the Gentrification of Lower East Side
Date: 25 January 2005 00:17:29 GMT
To: [REDACTED]

I will be out of town for the rest of the week and therefore will not be able to meet with you. In all candor, many of NYC's neighborhoods are not being gentrified but in fact are simply undergoing a change from unused and underused industrial space to residential purposes. In addition, some of the older cities located in outlying areas, often near suburbs, are benefitting from the influz of people who are rehabilitating old stores and buildings -- that had been neglected for decades.
M Moss

----- Original Message ----- From: "Aaron" <[REDACTED]>
To: "Mitchell Moss" <[REDACTED]>
Sent: Monday, January 24, 2005 11:56 AM
Subject: Research on the Gentrification of Lower East Side

Dear Mitchell Moss,

My name is Aaron Mo. I am currently writing my Masters dissertation at the Bartlett School of Planning, at University College London. I am writing about the involvement, and effect, of the ?creative class? during gentrification. Below is my hypothesis:

Without financial and governmental support, it is virtually impossible to safeguard the 'creative class' from gentrification. Artists are forced to move to other areas where there are disused industrial buildings - these buildings moved out of the city centre, during the decentralization of the manufacturing sector: artists are starting to move to the suburbs, bringing their urban culture with them. The suburbs are starting to become urbanised, leading to the death of the suburbs! Furthermore, Gentrification in New York is more advanced then in London - about ten years ahead. Therefore, if I look at the art movement, especially from the Lower East Side to Williamsburg, I should be able to speculate the trend in Hackney (At the moment, it looks like it will be towards Forest Hill, East London suburbs).

I am currently in New York; in order to prove my hypothesis, but will be leaving on Wednesday afternoon. I was told by Todd Rufo that your knowledge maybe very useful in my research.

Thank you for your time and hopefully we could meet up either today or tomorrow.

You can contact me on [REDACTED] or [REDACTED]

Yours sincerely,

Aaron Mo, B.Sc. (Hons.), TC/P Dip.

Data and graphs comparing New York study areas

Community District Profiles

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (www.nyc.gov)

Population

	1980	1990	2000
Lower East Side, Chinatown, Two Bridges	154,848	161,617	164,407
Greenpoint, Williamsburg	142,942	155,972	160,338
Bushwick	92,497	102,572	104,358
Red Hook, Park Slope, Gowanus, Carroll Gardens, Cobble Hill	110,225	102,724	104,054

2000 Land Use (60 Area %)

	1-2 Family Residential	3-4 Family Residential	Mixed Residential / Commercial	Commercial / Office	Industrial	Transportation / Utility	Institutions	Open Space / Recreation	Parking Facility	Vacant Land	Miscellaneous
Lower East Side, Chinatown, Two Bridges	0.2	32.8	19.6	5.3	2.3	4.1	11.1	16	1.9	6.5	0.2
Greenpoint, Williamsburg	6.1	20.2	6.2	2.3	37.5	5.5	5.6	4.4	3.3	4.7	4.4
Bushwick	18.9	28.2	5.9	3.2	6.1	1.4	9.2	18.2	3.3	7.7	1
Red Hook, Park Slope, Gowanus, Carroll Gardens, Cobble Hill	11.2	23.8	4.5	2.3	14.7	23.8	4.7	5.1	2.3	2.9	5

Demographic Profile 1990 %

	White Nonhispanic	Black/African American Nonhispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander Nonhispanic	American Indian and Alaska Native Nonhispanic	Some other Race Nonhispanic	Hispanic Origin
Lower East Side, Chinatown, Two Bridges	29.3	8.3	29.6	0.2	0.2	32.3
Greenpoint, Williamsburg	46.1	7.2	2.6	0.2	0.4	43.6
Bushwick	5.4	24.9	3.7	0.3	0.6	65
Red Hook, Park Slope, Gowanus, Carroll Gardens, Cobble Hill	54.9	15.9	3.2	0.3	0.3	25.6

Demographic Profile 2000 %

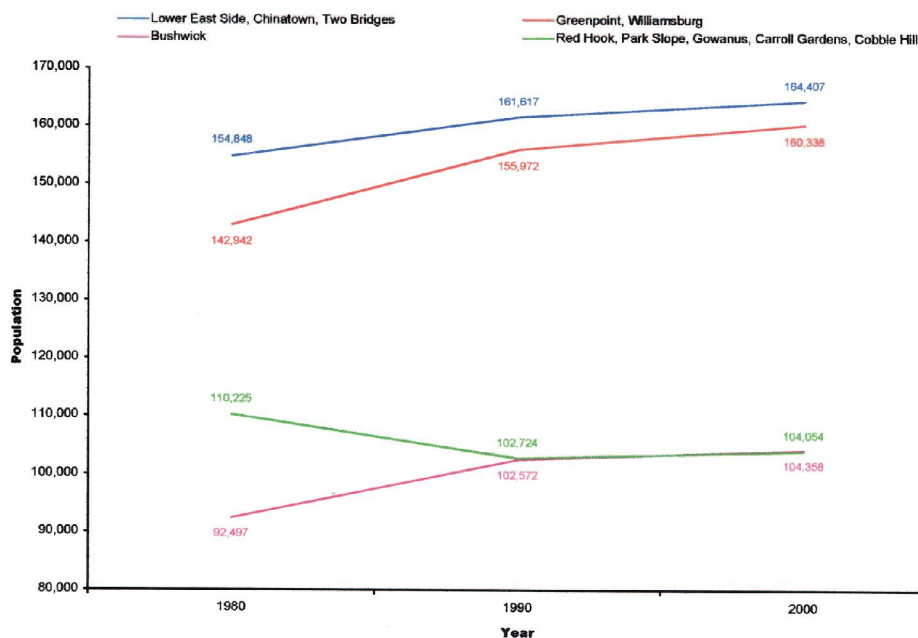
	White Nonhispanic	Black/African American Nonhispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander Nonhispanic	American Indian and Alaska Native Nonhispanic	Some other Race Nonhispanic	Nonhispanic of two or more races	Hispanic Origin
Lower East Side, Chinatown, Two Bridges	28.2	7.1	35.2	0.1	0.4	2.1	25.6
Greenpoint, Williamsburg	48	5.5	3.8	0.1	2.3	2.8	37.7
Bushwick	2.9	23.8	3.1	0.3	0.8	1.9	67.2
Red Hook, Park Slope, Gowanus, Carroll Gardens, Cobble Hill	54.9	13.5	4.4	0.2	0.5	3.1	23.4

% College Graduates or higher

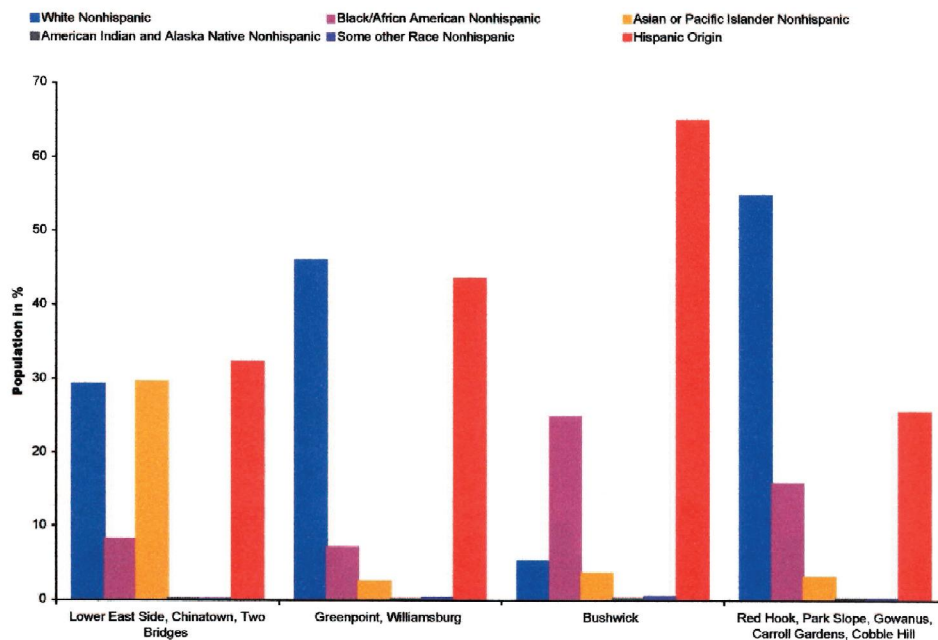
Lower East Side, Chinatown, Two Bridges	27.5
Greenpoint, Williamsburg	20.3
Bushwick	8.5
Red Hook, Park Slope, Gowanus, Carroll Gardens, Cobble Hill	49.4

All graphs are produced from data extracted from the 1990 and 2000 census data

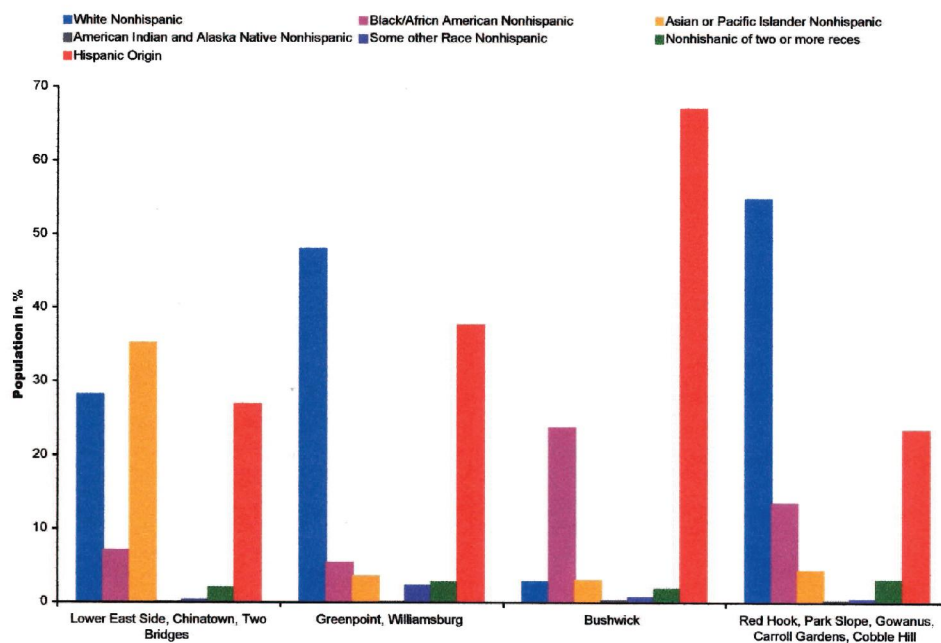
Graph showing trend in population



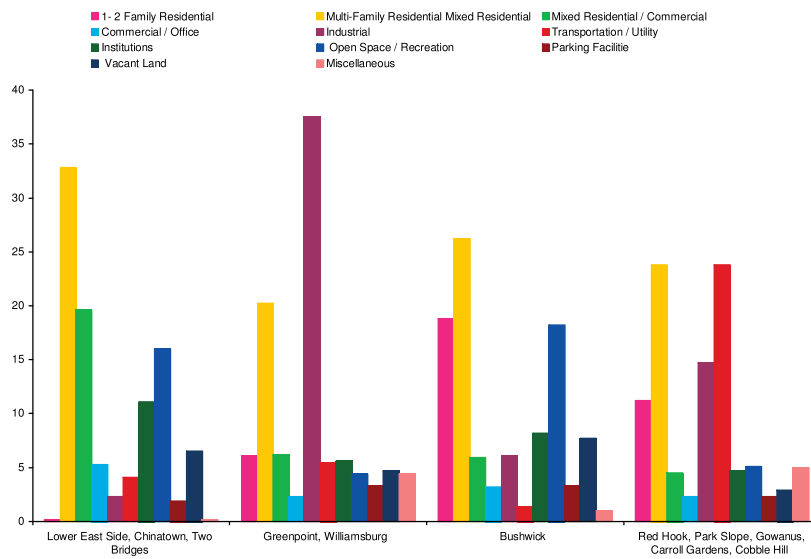
Graph showing population in 1990



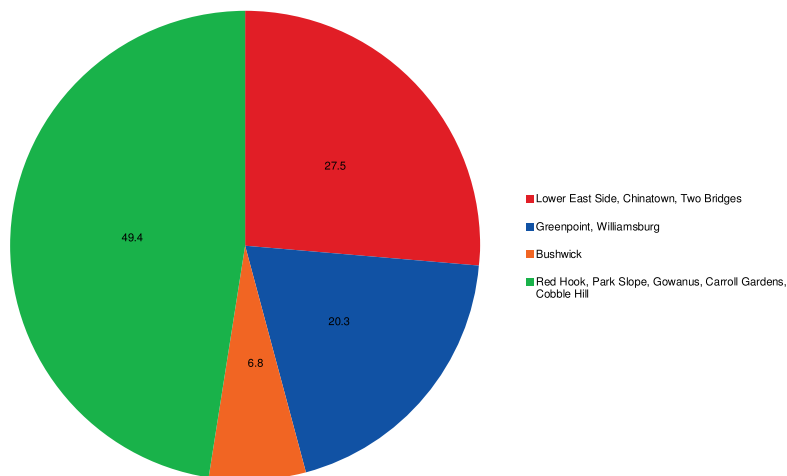
Graph showing population in 2000



Graph showing 2000 land use



Pie chart showing education in percentages





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

Photographs of Lower East Side study area:

- 1- Discount garment shops that still exist
- 2- Existing warehouses in China Town
- 3- Tenements
- 4- Basements used by the audio art class
- 5- Vacant sites soon to be developed
- 6- East Village
- 7- Gallery in East Village
- 8- New development with large windows
- 9- Redeveloped warehouses
- 10- Tompkins Square Park
- 11- Projects
- 12- Evidence of indigenous residents



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

Photographs of Williamsburg study area:

- 1- Industrial area of Bedford Avenue
- 2- New office building in the industrial area of Bedford Avenue
- 3- AIR building in the industrial area of Bedford Avenue
- 4- Narrow buildings in Montrose Avenue
- 5- New residential buildings
- 6- Disused warehouses near residential buildings
- 7- Good building stock along Bushwick
- 8- Large windows in buildings
- 9- Warehouses used for commerce in Morgan Avenue
- 10- Residential building in Morgan Avenue
- 11- Building work in Morgan Avenue
- 12- Disused buildings in Morgan Avenue